

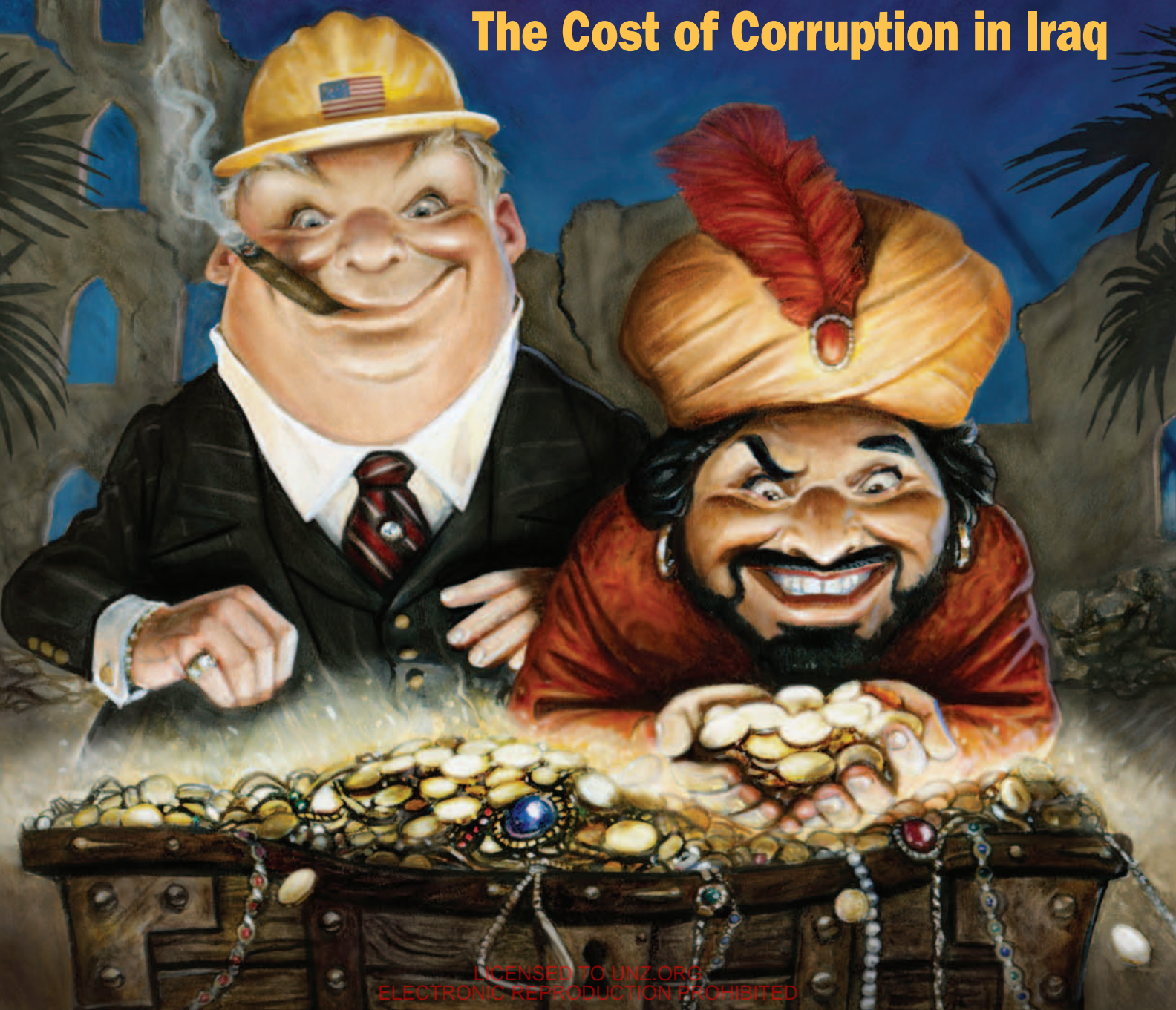
BUCHANAN: LORD BLANKLEY'S WAR ■ DEFICIT DIVIDES GOP

OCTOBER 24, 2005

The American Conservative

MONEY FOR NOTHING

The Cost of Corruption in Iraq



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OUR RAZA TOO

Scott McConnell writes that the Euro-America that existed as recently as 1980 no longer endures (Sept. 26). If this is true, then the question needs to be asked, "Who is responsible?" Not only were Americans not consulted, but they are expected to accept this brave new order. The Left celebrates multiculturalism while the Right, exemplified by McConnell, thinks up ways to repudiate the southern strategy, purge racists from its ranks, and adopt the tactics of the open-borders lobby.

I'll allow that skinheads and Nazis shouldn't speak for Euro-Americans, but I'd also like to know who should. Latino groups such as La Raza openly flout their racism with slogans such as, "For those inside the race, everything. For those outside the race, nothing." Meanwhile, Euro-Americans are lectured about being welcoming to the new arrivals and are told repeatedly that Mexican illegals are only doing jobs that Americans won't do. Americans would do any job, but they also want to be paid an honest wage.

Yes, America is a nation of immigrants. My Ukrainian-born father and Polish-born mother are a testament to that. But neither of them jumped a fence in Arizona to achieve the American dream. America restricted immigration for most of the 20th century, and the dream did not die. In fact, America was at its socioeconomic height during this period. And then the white race began to be blamed for every ill that ever befell humanity.

McConnell is under the impression that if immigration restrictionists don't purge "racists" from their ranks, they will never be taken seriously and an opportunity will be lost. But no other ethnic group is purging racists from its ranks. On the contrary, they thrive on racial politics, especially with regard to immigration.

BILL MATWIJIW
Chicago, Ill.

Scott McConnell replies:

Several readers made points similar to Mr. Matwijiw's, and I will try to address them here. The principal reason that the "Euro-America" of 1980 no longer exists is that the immigration-reform movement (always given vague backing by American majorities in the polls) failed politically in the 1990s. Its presidential candidates came in second or third in the primaries. Its ability to reward political friends and punish opponents has never been impressive. My piece was intended to spur that movement into thinking how it failed and how it might succeed when its next opportunity arises.

It seems worth noting that the nearest immigration reform came to passing legislation that would actually reduce the number of illegal immigrants and curtail the absurd "chain immigration" of relatives was the bill inspired by the reform commission chaired by the late Barbara Jordan—i.e., legislation that had no "Euro-American" nationalist tinge.

Mr. Matwijiw may feel deprived that Mexicans have permission to organize under La Raza-type racial slogans while whites do not. But his own tout-ing of the La Raza example is testament to the fact that racist slogans are the least persuasive, least effective type of rhetoric: they are precisely what one points to in order to discredit a point of view. It's a lesson that the immigration-reform movement would do well to internalize.

KUDOS TO KURTH

While I might consider myself to be more in the liberal camp, the article "Splitting Islam" was one of those wonderful moments when the reality of a situation overcomes the politicization typical of most discourse (Sept. 26). Thus is illustrated the principle that ideology begins a conflict only to be replaced by immutable reality towards the end.

Putting the war in a much larger perspective, both religious and political, than just Iraq is a sobering result of this article. For the U.S. to have had the hubris to think that it could become the new Ottomans in the Islamic world may have been folly. To "cut and run" has the potential to make what we have seen so far look like a preparatory skirmish. Having seen the carnage that can happen in Africa with just machetes, the lack of sophisticated armaments is no impediment to mass slaughter. A foreign military presence, however humiliating it might be, seems to preclude it.

I sympathize with those who would like to end the war now. I also sympathize with those whose responsibility it is to make the decision. Hopefully wiser and cooler heads will prevail. Unless you decisively win or lose, war can be a far easier thing to get into than out of. May I congratulate the author and your publication on a superb and timely article.

JOHN PARK
Summerland, B.C., Canada

ALL OR NOTHING

According to the roll-call vote on CAFTA, Tennessee patriot Congressman John Duncan has either decided that CAFTA is the right thing for his constituency or the most politically profitable choice. Honorable man and local hero he may be ("Volunteer Statesman," Sept. 12), but this vote should preclude him from any serious consideration as a future president.

MICHAEL J. STRENK JR.
via e-mail

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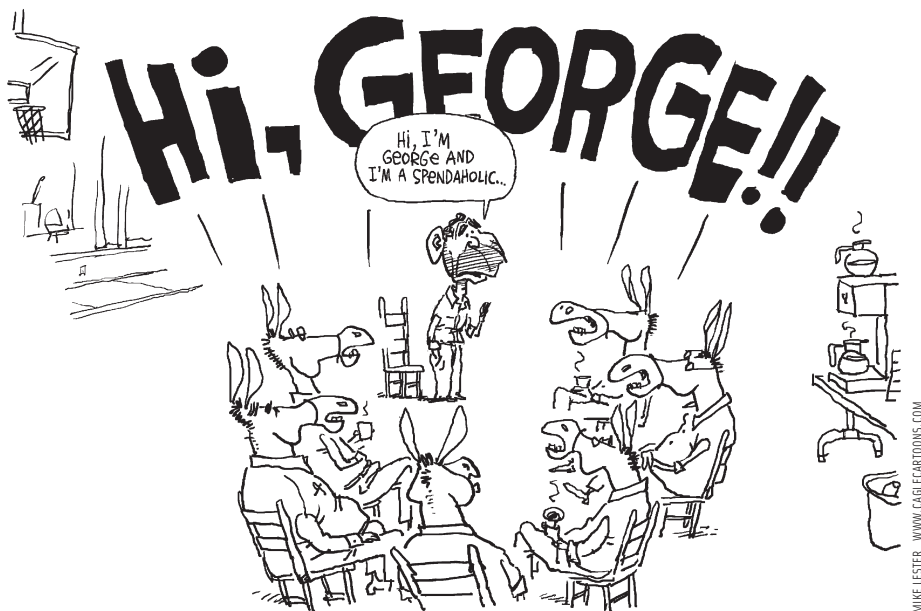
MARCHING ACROSS THE AISLE

The large antiwar demonstrations of last month were the first mass rallies since the invasion of Iraq. Combined with polls showing a huge bipartisan shift of sentiment against Bush's war, the demonstration signaled that the country is increasingly getting used to the idea that bringing the troops home is the only real way to support them.

Many will consider this only a replay of leftist demonstrations past, and anti-war conservatives were not thrilled to hear that some demonstration organizers considered their march only a prelude to the next day's rallies against the World Bank. Why was a group called Mexicans Against Borders (or something like that; pardon our poor Spanish) given time at the podium but no realist voice could be heard? It brought back memories of coming out to protest the Vietnam War and being harangued by Marxist-Leninists.

But the clichéd roster of lefty speakers was not enough to dampen the spirits of those who came out to march and saw many of like mind. The Old Left may have organized the events, but the crowds represented Left, Right, and center. Present were Republicans for Impeachment and conservative CIA officers, veterans, and mothers of soldiers, and tens of thousands of young people attending their first demonstration. Ralph Nader was right to remind the crowd that Republicans were now the fastest growing segment of the antiwar movement. Leading Democrats were as absent from the scene as George W. Bush—a fact effectively underscored by Cindy Sheehan's pre-march picketing at Hillary Rodham Clinton's office.

Our guess is the politicians will stick their fingers in the national breeze and follow soon enough. If not, America will be seen as the country sorely in need of a democracy infusion.



[COUNTER-PROTEST]

AEI GOES AWOL

While September's antiwar march drew between 100,000 and 200,000 people, the pro-war rally the next day could muster no more than 400 souls though organizers had hoped for a turnout of some 20,000. A puzzlement: we would have thought the American Enterprise Institute alone could come up with 400 bodies among paid staff and interns. A waning of zeal at neocon central?

[POLITICS]

FEINGOLD CHOOSES

Given John Roberts's strong qualifications and stellar performance before the Senate Judiciary Committee, it is hardly surprising that his nomination for Chief Justice received strong bipartisan support. But it was nonetheless interesting to see how the Democrats voted.

Sen. Evan Bayh (D-Ind.) is a red-state centrist, exactly the sort of Democrat one would expect to cross party lines to back Roberts. Yet he voted no. Bayh is a possible candidate for his party's presidential nomination. He had already offended abortion-rights absolutists by voting to ban partial-birth abortion and thus could not afford to vote for a nomi-

nee who was even a question mark on *Roe v. Wade*.

Stalwart liberal Sen. Russ Feingold (D-Wis.), on the other hand, broke party lines to vote for Roberts. He is also considering a presidential run, and depends far more heavily than Bayh on the support of the party's left flank. But he was willing to risk the wrath of certain liberal activists, for whom abortion isn't everything—it's the only thing. It's probably no coincidence that Feingold was one of the earliest and most outspoken antiwar Democrats in the Senate. How the party's special interests respond to Feingold's vote will say a lot about the American Left's priorities. Which is more important: lockstep support for NARAL or peace?

[IMMIGRATION]

WHAT APPROVAL RATING?

With the Gulf Coast smashed and the toll of American servicemen killed in Iraq inching toward 2,000, George W. Bush has decided that the time is right to revive amnesty. The *Los Angeles Times* reports that Karl Rove has been doing the rounds in Congress lining up support for a forthcoming guest-workers proposal. "Concerned that increasingly stri-

dent anti-immigrant voices within the party were undermining the administration's efforts to reach out to Latino voters," the paper says, "the administration formed a coalition of business groups and immigration advocates during the summer to lobby for the sort of comprehensive plan Bush has advocated since early in his presidency."

At least a few Republicans are balking, and a late-September report from the Government Accountability Office documents just how poorly immigration enforcement has fared under Bush—between 1999 and 2003, workplace arrests of illegals plummeted from 2,849 to 445. The amount of agent investigative time devoted to enforcement has dropped by more than 50 percent in the same period.

Perhaps President Bush should not worry so much about passing his plan through Congress. By lax enforcement, he has already accomplished a virtual amnesty.

[PROPAGANDA]

AD MAN TO THE RESCUE

It turns out the real problem with the Iraq War isn't those missing WMD or the unanticipated insurgency or the indefinite occupation. It's that America hasn't made herself a "Lovemark." So claimed Saatchi & Saatchi CEO Kevin Roberts when he was invited to address the Defense Department. Madison Avenue's finest suggested that the War on Terror be rebranded as the Fight for a Better World, a "more inclusive, more optimistic and more engaging" moniker for our crusade.

Any who think the ad ace unqualified to direct American foreign policy clearly overlook that he built seven Pepsi plants in Iraq and that the founders of his company were born in Baghdad. That's probably a closer association than the assembled war planners whom Roberts unfortunately found "open" to his mes-

sage. Or perhaps he was just telling them what they wanted to hear. After all, it's reassuring to think we're hated for the package rather than the product.

[BUDGET]

KAREN HUGHES WILL EXPLAIN

Of interest to those wanting to understand the ways of Washington is the Republican Study Committee's Operation Offset—budget cuts suggested by the conservative House group in order to pay for Katrina aid without adding to the deficit. This is a worthwhile exercise: it's the height of folly to keep piling up the debt our children will owe to Beijing and Tokyo.

But look at the proposals. Seemingly every kind of welfare program is cut, as well as highway spending, Medicaid, student loans, funds for education, water-quality standards, mass transit. Foreign aid too gets a big chop. Reduction in programs to fight AIDS in Africa, slashing of aid to Egypt, Latin America, the Caribbean, cuts to the Peace Corps, narcotics control in South America.

But the biggest recipient of U.S. aid is not mentioned at all, and no cuts are proposed. Israel is a highly developed country with a world-class army, serious nuclear arsenal, and European standard of living. It has received more American aid than any other country over the past 30 years, indeed has taken in about one-third of total U.S. foreign aid. This year it's asking for a special \$2 billion supplement to its regular allowance of \$3 billion.

The Republican Study Committee's recommendations are only proposals. An administration addicted to borrowing will almost certainly go the deficit spending route to pay for Katrina. But the solons behind Operation Offset would do well to consider, and perhaps even to explain, why foreign aid to one particular country is a very sacred cow. ■

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Our Paralyzed Elite

George W. Bush is in big trouble, and so are we. In this town there is barely disguised glee that the president so badly bumbled the rescue and recovery operation

post-Katrina that he has lost the aura of a strong, engaged, and decisive leader.

Democrats and their coalition partners in the media are openly gloating that Bush's fumbling proves them right: he is the fortunate son who is beyond his depth in an office he would not have won had it not been for his name, connections, and a friendly Supreme Court.

The piling on begins to grate, but that is the nature of politics here. Vince Foster was right. Ruining people is sport in this city. Especially presidents. When Nixon was mired in Watergate, Reagan ensnared in Iran-Contra, and Clinton embroiled in the Monica mess, Washington was whistling "Happy Days Are Here Again."

But even if Bush is in trouble, why are we?

It is not because his approval rating has plunged to 40 percent, the nadir of his presidency, but because support is evaporating for a war upon the outcome of which hangs America's position in the Middle East and the world.

According to a CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll, 67 percent disapprove of how Bush is prosecuting the war. Only 32 percent approve. Three in five think America made a mistake going in. Close to two-thirds of the American people think we should start withdrawing troops now.

By a CBS/*New York Times* poll, only 7 percent of the nation is willing to cut domestic spending to pay for this war, only 20 percent—one in five—is willing to raise taxes. A majority of Americans wish this war had never happened and would just go away.

How then does President Bush, for the three and a half years left to him, persuade the American people to keep spending the blood of their soldiers and the treasure of the nation to fight it?

Undeniably, there is progress. The enemy is suffering losses. U.S.-trained Iraqi troops are more often taking the initiative. But the British army's jail break of two commandos locked up in Basra has ignited an explosion in the Shia south and revealed that militia tied to the Mehdi Army of Moqtada al-Sadr, perhaps aided by Iran, are embedded in, if they do not control, the Basra police.

As for the victory in Tal Afar, a Turkmen city, the Iraqi troops we assisted were apparently Kurds, which has further inflamed our estranged NATO ally Turkey.

Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal, here last week, put no gloss on Riyadh's alarm. Iraq is hurtling toward a civil war that may become a regional war, he said, with Iran intervening to aid the Shia, Turkey attacking the Kurds, and Sunni Arab nations aiding their dispossessed and embattled Sunni brethren. "All the dynamics are pulling the country apart," said Prince Saud.

The White House sees the constitution holding Iraq together until elections are held, but Prince Saud is dismissive: "[E]lections won't do it. A constitution alone won't do it."

Though most Americans have lost confidence in Bush as a war president and believe the war was a mistake and we should start bringing our troops

home, no elected leader of national stature is demanding an end to U.S. involvement or a new policy for victory.

Our political elite is in paralysis. Senator McCain talks of more troops but has not broken with Bush on his refusal to send them. Senator Feingold calls for a timetable for withdrawal but took a pass on the big antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C.

Reason for the reticence?

Critics fear this war could end badly, if not disastrously, for the United States. No one wants to say anything that can be used to substantiate a future charge of having given aid and comfort to the enemy in a time of war and helping to ensure an American defeat.

Both parties bear moral responsibility for the mess we are in: the Bush-Cheney-Rumsfeld Republicans for beating the drums for war on a country that did not threaten us, the Clinton-Kerry-Biden-Edwards Democrats for giving Bush a blank check to take us to war to remove the issue from the 2002 election. Indeed, Democrats are the more indictable. At least Bush-Cheney believed in the war.

But George W. Bush led us in, and it is his legacy as well as his country's standing as a world power—and U.S. vital interests in this critical oil-rich region—that are riding on the outcome.

Does Bush have a plan to win? Does he have a plan to cut our losses and end our involvement in a way not ruinous to the global economy or America's position in the Gulf and Middle East?

In that CBS/*New York Times* poll, 75 percent of Bush's countrymen said he has no plan. Yet he is president for the next 40 months.

Yes, we are all in this boat together, and it is taking on water. ■

[war profiteers]

Money for Nothing

Billions of dollars have disappeared, gone to bribe Iraqis and line contractors' pockets.

By Philip Giraldi

THE UNITED STATES invaded Iraq with a high-minded mission: destroy dangerous weapons, bring democracy, and trigger a wave of reform across the Middle East. None of these have happened.

When the final page is written on America's catastrophic imperial venture, one word will dominate the explanation of U.S. failure—corruption. Large-scale and pervasive corruption meant that available resources could not be used to stabilize and secure Iraq in the early days of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), when it was still possible to do so. Continuing corruption meant that the reconstruction of infrastructure never got underway, giving the Iraqi people little incentive to co-operate with the occupation. Ongoing corruption in arms procurement and defense spending means that Baghdad will never control a viable army while the Shi'ite and Kurdish militias will grow stronger and produce a divided Iraq in which constitutional guarantees will be irrelevant.

The American-dominated Coalition Provisional Authority could well prove to be the most corrupt administration in history, almost certainly surpassing the widespread fraud of the much-maligned UN Oil for Food Program. At least \$20 billion that belonged to the Iraqi people has been wasted, together with hundreds of millions of U.S. taxpayer dollars. Exactly how many billions of additional dollars were squandered, stolen,

given away, or simply lost will never be known because the deliberate decision by the CPA not to meter oil exports means that no one will ever know how much revenue was generated during 2003 and 2004.

Some of the corruption grew out of the misguided neoconservative agenda for Iraq, which meant that a serious reconstruction effort came second to doling out the spoils to the war's most fervent supporters. The CPA brought in scores of bright, young true believers who were nearly universally unqualified. Many were recruited through the Heritage Foundation website, where they had posted their résumés. They were paid six-figure salaries out of Iraqi funds, and most served in 90-day rotations before returning home with their war stories. One such volunteer was Simone Ledeen, daughter of leading neoconservative Michael Ledeen. Unable to communicate in Arabic and with no relevant experience or appropriate educational training, she nevertheless became a senior advisor for northern Iraq at the Ministry of Finance in Baghdad. Another was former White House Press Secretary Ari Fleischer's older brother Michael who, though utterly unqualified, was named director of private-sector development for all of Iraq.

The 15-month proconsulship of the CPA disbursed nearly \$20 billion, two-thirds of it in cash, most of which came

from the Development Fund for Iraq that had replaced the UN Oil for Food Program and from frozen and seized Iraqi assets. Most of the money was flown into Iraq on C-130s in huge plastic shrink-wrapped pallets holding 40 "cashpaks," each cashpak having \$1.6 million in \$100 bills. Twelve billion dollars moved that way between May 2003 and June 2004, drawn from accounts administered by the New York Federal Reserve Bank. The \$100 bills weighed an estimated 363 tons.

Once in Iraq, there was virtually no accountability over how the money was spent. There was also considerable money "off the books," including as much as \$4 billion from illegal oil exports. The CPA and the Iraqi State Oil Marketing Board, which it controlled, made a deliberate decision not to record or "meter" oil exports, an invitation to wholesale fraud and black marketeering.

Thus the country was awash in unaccountable money. British sources report that the CPA contracts that were not handed out to cronies were sold to the highest bidder, with bribes as high as \$300,000 being demanded for particularly lucrative reconstruction contracts.

The contracts were especially attractive because no work or results were necessarily expected in return. It became popular to cancel contracts without penalty, claiming that security

costs were making it too difficult to do the work. A \$500 million power-plant contract was reportedly awarded to a bidder based on a proposal one page long. After a joint commission rejected the proposal, its members were replaced by the minister, and approval was duly obtained. But no plant has been built.

Where contracts are actually performed, their nominal cost is inflated sufficiently to provide handsome bribes

money while the CPA still had authority and before an Iraqi government could be formed.

The only certified public-accounting firm used by the CPA to monitor its spending was a company called North Star Consultants, located in San Diego, which was so small that it operated out of a private home. It was subsequently determined that North Star did not, in fact, perform any review of the CPA's internal spending controls. Today, no

unscrupulous companies will make every effort to increase their costs so that the profits will also increase proportionally.

Halliburton, Vice President Dick Cheney's former company, has a no-bid monopoly contract with the Army Corps of Engineers that is now estimated to be worth \$10 billion. In June 2005, Pentagon contracting officer Bunny Greenhouse told a congressional committee that the agreement was the "most blatant and improper contracting abuse" that she had ever witnessed, a frank assessment that subsequently earned her a demotion.

Halliburton has frequently been questioned over its poor record keeping, and critics claim that it has a history of overcharging for its services. In May 1967, a company called RMK/BRJ could not account for \$120 million in materiel sent to Vietnam and was investigated several times for overcharging on fuel. RMK/BRJ is now known as KBR or Kellogg, Brown and Root, the Halliburton subsidiary that has been the focus of congressional, Department of Defense, and General Accountability Office investigations. Defense Contract Audit Agency auditors have questioned Halliburton's charges on a \$1.6 billion fuel contract, claiming that the overcharges on the contract exceed \$200 million. In one instance, the company charged the Army more than \$27 million to transport \$82,000 worth of fuel from Kuwait to Iraq. Halliburton has also been accused of billing the Army for 42,000 daily meals for soldiers, though it was only actually serving 14,000. In another operation, KBR purchased fleets of Mercedes trucks at \$85,000 each to resupply U.S. troops. The trucks carried no spare parts or even extra tires for the grueling high-speed run across the Kuwaiti and Iraqi deserts. When the trucks broke down on the highway, they were abandoned and destroyed rather than repaired.

IN APRIL 2004, \$1.5 BILLION IN CASH THAT HAD JUST BEEN DELIVERED BY THREE BLACKHAWK HELICOPTERS WAS HANDED OVER TO A COURIER IN ERBIL, IN THE KURDISH REGION, NEVER TO BE SEEN AGAIN.

for everyone involved in the process. Bribes paid to government ministers reportedly exceed \$10 million.

Money also disappeared in truckloads and by helicopter. The CPA reportedly distributed funds to contractors in bags off the back of a truck. In one notorious incident in April 2004, \$1.5 billion in cash that had just been delivered by three Blackhawk helicopters was handed over to a courier in Erbil, in the Kurdish region, never to be seen again. Afterwards, no one was able to recall the courier's name or provide a good description of him.

Paul Bremer, meanwhile, had a slush fund in cash of more than \$600 million in his office for which there was no paperwork. One U.S. contractor received \$2 million in a duffel bag. Three-quarters of a million dollars was stolen from an office safe, and a U.S. official was given \$7 million in cash in the waning days of the CPA and told to spend it "before the Iraqis take over." Nearly \$5 billion was shipped from New York in the last month of the CPA. Sources suggest that a deliberate attempt was being made to run down the balance and spend the

one can account for billions of those dollars or even suggest how the money was spent. And as the CPA no longer exists, there is also little interest in re-examining its transparency or accountability.

Bremer escaped Baghdad by helicopter two days before his proconsulship expired to avoid a possible ambush on the road leading to the airport, which he had been unable to secure. He has recently been awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, an honor he shares with ex-CIA Director George "Slam-dunk" Tenet.

Considerable fraud has been alleged regarding American companies, much of which can never be addressed because the Bush administration does not regard contracts with the CPA as pertaining to the U.S. government, even though U.S. taxpayer dollars were involved in some transactions.

Many of the contracts for work in Iraq were awarded on a cost-plus basis, in which an agreed-upon percentage of profit would be added to the actual costs of performing the contract. Such contracts are an invitation to fraud, and

Responding to complaints, Halliburton refused to permit independent auditing and inspected itself using so-called "Tiger Teams." One such team stayed at the five-star Kuwait Kempinski Hotel while it was doing its audit, running up a bill of more than \$1 million that was passed on to U.S. taxpayers.

Another U.S. firm well connected to the Bush White House, Custer Battles, has provided security services to the coalition, receiving \$11 million in Iraqi funds including \$4 million in cash in a sole-source contract to supply security at Baghdad International Airport. The company had never provided airport security before receiving the contract. It also received a \$21 million no-bid contract to provide security for the exchange of Iraqi currency. It has been alleged that much of the currency "replaced" by Custer Battles has never been accounted for. The company also allegedly took over abandoned Iraqi-owned forklifts at the airport, repainted them, and then leased them back to the airport authority through a company set up in the Cayman Islands. Custer Battles reportedly set up a number of shell companies in offshore tax havens in Lebanon, Cyprus, and the Cayman Islands to handle the cash flow.

Two former company managers turned whistleblowers have charged that the company defrauded the U.S. government of at least \$50 million. The Bush administration's Justice Department has only reluctantly, and under pressure from a *Newsweek* exposé, supported the rights of the plaintiffs in the case. The White House has indicated that it is not interested in assisting other investigations of fraud in Iraqi contracting, preferring to regard the CPA as a "multinational entity" and thereby limiting its vulnerability in American courts.

Another American contractor, CACI International, which was involved in the Abu Ghraib interrogations, was accused by the GAO in April 2004 of having failed

to keep records on hours of work that it was billing for and of routinely upgrading employee job descriptions so that more could be charged per employee per hour. Both are apparently common practices among contractors in Iraq, and audits routinely determine that there is little in the way of paperwork to support billings. The GAO report also confirms that many private security contractors in Iraq have been charging the U.S. government exorbitant fees for their services, frequently because the contracts allow security costs to be rolled into the overall cost of the contract without being itemized. In one case, contract security guards were effectively being billed at \$33,000 per guard per month while the average rate for a security specialist worked out to between \$13,000 and \$20,000 per month.

The CPA also spread its largesse around the U.S. armed forces, distributing over \$600 million in cash to four regional commanders to fund reconstruction projects as part of the Commanders' Emergency Response Program. An audit of one region disclosed that 80 percent of the funds could not be accounted for, and more that \$7 million in cash was missing. It is widely believed

A recent high-level investigation of the Iraqi interim government concluded that the corruption is now so pervasive as to be irreversible. One prominent businessman estimates that 95 percent of all business activity involves some form of bribery or kickback. The bureaucrats and fixers who live off of bribery are referred to by ordinary Iraqis as "Ali Babas," named after the character in *The Thousand and One Nights* who was able to access riches from a treasure cave by saying "open sesame." For the average Iraqi businessman, there was formerly only one hand out, that of Saddam's designated minion. Now every hand is out. The educated and entrepreneurial are leaving the country in droves, as is most of the beleaguered Christian minority. Huge government appropriations are approved by Iraqi lawmakers and then simply disappear. Meanwhile, life for the average Iraqi does not improve, and oil production, water supplies, and electricity generation are all at lower levels than they were when the U.S. took control in 2003. The only thing that everyone knows is that all the money is gone and daily life in Iraq is worse than it was under Saddam Hussein.

CONTRACT SECURITY GUARDS WERE EFFECTIVELY BEING BILLED AT \$33,000 PER GUARD PER MONTH WHILE THE AVERAGE RATE FOR A SECURITY SPECIALIST WORKED OUT TO BETWEEN \$13,000 AND \$20,000 PER MONTH.

that many of the contracting agents working under the regional commands literally stole the money. In one reported instance, an American contracting officer doubled the price of a multimillion-dollar contract and brazenly explained that the extra money would be for his retirement fund.

Unfortunately, the corruption of the occupation outlived the departure of Paul Bremer and the demise of the CPA.

The undocumented cash flow continued long after the CPA folded. Over \$1.5 billion was disbursed to interim Iraqi ministries without any accounting, and more than \$1 billion designated for provincial treasuries never made it out of Baghdad. More than \$430 million in contracts issued by the Petroleum Ministry were unsupported by any documentation, and \$8 billion were given to government ministries that

had no financial controls in place. Nearly all of it disappeared, spent on “payroll,” wages for “ghost employees” in the Ministries of the Interior and Defense. In one case, an Army brigade receiving money to support 2,200 men was found to have fewer than 300 effectives. 602 actual guards at the Ministry of the Interior were billed as more than 8,200 for payroll purposes.

Iraqi Airways carried 2,400 employees even though it had not operated for over a year and had no planes. The airline itself was sold to an unidentified buyer without any paperwork to show for how much it was sold and what assets were included. It has been alleged that the buyer might well have been Pentagon favorite Ahmad Chalabi.

Nearly all payrolls in the national guard and national police were also inflated, leading to uncertainty over how large the security forces actually were—still an open question. Absentees from the nominal rolls of police and soldiers provided by government ministries are believed to number in the tens of thousands, and as the United States Congress has figured out, frequently cited

figures on available trained manpower are largely imaginary.

Even the “coalition of the willing” partners have been quick to cash in. Polish helicopters purchased as part of a \$300 million deal with arms maker Bumar Ltd. were found to be obsolete, largely unflyable, and were actually

A SENIOR INTERIOR MINISTRY OFFICIAL FLEW TO BEIRUT IN A HELICOPTER ACCOMPANIED BY \$10 MILLION IN IRAQI DINARS. HE HAS YET TO RETURN.

rejected by the Iraqis. Bullets purchased from Poland by the Defense Ministry cost three times the normal international price. Five Polish peacekeepers have been arrested for demanding \$90,000 in bribes. Both British and American soldiers have also demanded bribes from shopkeepers and travelers.

In yet another instance of take-it-while-you-can, a senior Interior Ministry official flew to Beirut in a helicopter accompanied by \$10 million in newly printed Iraqi dinars. He has yet to return. Interim Iraqi President Iyad Allawi's Defense Minister Hazem Shaalan trans-

ferred \$500 million to a bank account in Lebanon, allegedly to buy weapons, in a case that continues to be murky. Shaalan is reportedly vacationing abroad and has not returned to Iraq. A Bremer favorite at the Defense Ministry, Ziad Tareq Cattar, was responsible for a number of shady arms-procurement

deals. A warrant has been issued for his arrest, an unusual occurrence, and he is avoiding detention by staying with family in Erbil in Kurdistan.

Countless billions will never be accounted for, and the full cost of corruption has yet to be tallied. Sources report that much of the money that was designated for the development of a national army and police force is actually going to units that are exclusively Kurd or Shi'ite in expectation of a day of reckoning over the country's oil supplies. The Kurds have made no secret of their desire to continue their autonomy-bordering-on-independence and have stated that they regard Kirkuk as their own. The Shi'ites have possession of the oil-producing region to the south and are using their control of the Interior Ministry to fill police ranks with their own pro-Iranian Badr Brigade members as well as militiamen drawn from radical cleric Moqtada al-Sadr's Mehdi Army. The Sunnis are the odd men out, virtually guaranteeing that, far from becoming the model democracy the U.S. set out to build, Iraq will descend deeper into chaos—aided in no small part by the culture of corruption we helped to fortify. ■

Philip Giraldi, a former CIA Officer, is a partner in Cannistraro Associates, an international security consultancy.

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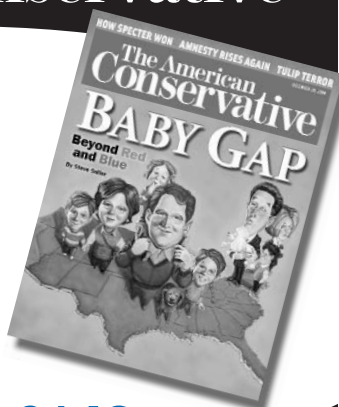
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When Deficit Hawks Cry

Congress shows its generosity to Katrina's victims — with your money.

By W. James Antle III

AS THE FLOODWATERS left by Hurricane Katrina receded, the deluge of federal spending began. The price tag of rebuilding New Orleans and repairing the Gulf Coast may reach \$200 billion, and President Bush has committed the federal government to providing the vast majority of the funding.

The *Orlando Sentinel's* Michael Tackett opined, "Throughout his nationally broadcast address ... it was as though the disaster of Hurricane Katrina had transformed the president from the logical heir to Ronald Reagan to some curious amalgam of Franklin Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson." He likened the proposed reconstruction programs to "the Marshall Plan, the Works Progress Administration and the Tennessee Valley Authority and social policy animated by the Great Society."

Indeed, these expenses are being incurred while figures show that the real percentage increase in discretionary spending under Bush has eclipsed the Johnson administration's record. The two Texans have run up such substantial bills for much the same reasons: expanding domestic spending at home while waging an unpopular war abroad. *Reason* editor Nick Gillespie quipped, "All that's missing for the transformation to be complete is for Bush to show us the scar on his stomach, pull his dog up by the ears, and start holding cabinet meetings in the bathroom."

Even before hurricane season, federal spending was scheduled to rise 7 percent this year with a projected budget deficit of \$331 billion. The first relief bill came in at \$62.3 billion. The

Republican congressional leadership was determined to tack the entire cost onto the deficit. When Congressman Todd Aiken (R-Mo.) proposed an amendment to offset some of the emergency spending by cutting 2.5 cents out of every dollar federal agencies spend, House leaders prevented it from even coming up for a vote.

Taxpayer groups and deficit hawks were outraged by the spending binge. "There's no reason to add a fiscal disaster on top of a natural disaster," says Tom Schatz, president of Citizens Against Government Waste.

House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Texas), the member of the congressional leadership with perhaps the strongest ties to movement conservatives, notoriously told reporters there was hardly any fat in the budget left to cut: "After 11 years of Republican majority, we pared it down pretty good. I am ready to declare ongoing victory."

With these words, DeLay finally sent long-suffering fiscal conservatives into open rebellion. "I wonder if we've been serving in the same Congress," said a bemused Congressman Jeff Flake (R-Ariz.). Congressman Mike Pence (R-Ind.) called DeLay "a guy who knows how to throw the gauntlet down to his colleagues."

Pence's Republican Study Committee decided to rise to the challenge. Members of the maverick conservative caucus launched Operation Offset, an initiative aimed at finding the cuts to finance hurricane-relief spending. They compiled a list of nearly 100 programs and \$500 billion in potential savings from which their col-

leagues could choose offsets. "We could slow the growth of some programs, reduce or eliminate others," says Congressman Jeb Hensarling (R-Texas), the task force's leader. "Members may not agree with all of them, but the bottom line is Congress doesn't have to look far to find the savings."

"Only in Congress would offsets be dismissed entirely," says Flake press secretary Matthew Specht. "Folks around the country recognize the need to change spending priorities."

If so, Operation Offset aims to please them. The proposed cuts range from items that are small but ridiculous (ending Medicare coverage of penile implants would save \$8 million) to those that are large and ambitious. The two prime targets are the new Medicare prescription-drug entitlement and the recently enacted \$286 billion transportation bill.

House conservatives want to delay the prescription-drug benefit by a year for savings of \$30.8 billion. They also favor rescinding the 6,300 pork-barrel projects tucked into the highway bill, worth \$24 billion. In the upper house, Sens. John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Tom Coburn (R-Okla.) support them. Senate Finance Committee Chairman Charles Grassley (R-Iowa) called for an across-the-board spending freeze.

The budget-cutters sound an optimistic note. "All of the relief spending can be offset," says Schatz. "Who would miss 10 percent of the U.S. government if it translated into hurricane relief?" Congressman John Sullivan's (R-Okla.) spokesman contends "the feasibility of getting this done is very high."

But they have met stiff resistance. House Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.) has ruled out any changes to the transportation bill or delay in prescription-drug coverage.

The deficit hawks have ruffled other colleagues' feathers. Asked by reporters whether he would give up an earmarked bridge in his state as suggested by McCain, Congressman Don Young (R-Alaska) bellowed, "Kiss my ear!"

So far, the Bush administration has tried to stake out a middle position in the Republican split, endorsing the idea of cutting wasteful spending to fund hurricane relief while offering little in the way of specific cuts. The White House has tried to appeal to conservatives by filling its reconstruction proposals with Jack Kemp's greatest hits.

Bush would give education and housing vouchers to displaced residents, create a Gulf Coast Opportunity Zone that offers tax incentives for investment in the damaged region, and parcel out federal land in hard-hit areas to those in need of homes. The \$2,000 debit cards have been abandoned in favor of \$5,000 personal unemployment accounts. The administration's first round of tax breaks for Gulf Coast employers, totaling \$6.1 billion, unanimously passed both houses of Congress.

But this conservative policy-wonk wish list will be accompanied by traditional government spending on infrastructure and social welfare. The speed with which Congress has passed relief legislation increases the likelihood of waste. And using vouchers as the mechanism for transmitting benefits doesn't erase the price tag.

Can rebellious congressional conservatives prevail in their fight to bring fiscal sanity to the process? The odds aren't in their favor. Most of the spending cuts proposed in Operation Offset are eminently sensible but have been floated and rejected before. The attacks

on the GOP leadership's legislative priorities give the effort the appearance of a political kamikaze mission.

John Dickerson, writing in *Slate*, argued that fiscal conservatives are doomed because "they are directly targeting the horse-trading that makes government go," thus challenging a political process that thrives on giving away taxpayers' money. "Start pulling out earmarks" Dickerson wrote, "and you unravel support for the whole bill."

The other practical problem is that the constituency for limited government is smaller than the voting blocs that benefit from most government programs. Cutting the prescription-drug benefit may make people employed at free-market think tanks and conservative opinion magazines happy, but it won't win many votes. With few voters willing to punish big spenders, fiscal irresponsibility seldom exacts a significant political cost.

This is true even on the putatively small-government Right. Dickerson only slightly exaggerated when he wrote, "When social conservatives balk, they represent massive organized blocs of voters who have shown their willingness to stay home. When fiscal conservatives balk, only a few thousand ornery Republicans in New Hampshire and Arizona abandon the party." In this context, the Republican Study Committee's proposals seem noble but unrealistic.

But political reality eventually must confront economic reality. The growing deficit is making every major Republican domestic-policy initiative, from tax cuts to Social Security reform, increasingly untenable, as even many supply-siders are coming to realize. The *Wall Street Journal's* Brendan Miniter noted that if deficit spending "endangers the broader conservative agenda" it will "become *the* electoral issue."

The deficit also means that the Iraq War and Bush's welfare statism are being

financed through foreign borrowing. At least some Democrats are taking notice. "We have never done this before," Bill Clinton asserted in a recent television interview. "Never in the history of our republic have we ever financed a ... military conflict by borrowing money from somewhere else."

Clinton is of course more interested in raising taxes than cutting spending. But he is not alone and has possibly perfected the Democratic talking point against the Bush tax cuts: "We depend on Japan, China, the United Kingdom, Saudi Arabia, and Korea primarily to basically loan us money every day of the year to cover my tax cut and these conflicts and Katrina." Waging war and growing government by borrowing from Beijing—not even Karl Rove can sell that in the red states.

With the argument framed thus, pressure for higher taxes will grow with the deficit. The Bush administration can try to hold the line, but many of its tax cuts are scheduled to expire unless Congress acts to extend them. Even some Republicans are balking.

Senate Budget Committee Chairman Judd Gregg (R-N.H.) has said he is willing to put taxes on the table. Other Senate Republicans suggested allowing the capital gains and dividend tax cuts to expire in 2008. Borrow and spend may give way to tax and spend.

Yet the House conservatives pushing for spending cuts are with Bush on taxes. In his statement announcing Operation Offset, Hensarling warned that "raising taxes will only hurt more Americans and cost more jobs." Flake's press secretary was adamant that "we don't need higher taxes, just a rebirth of fiscal discipline."

High spending and low taxes are a winning formula in the short term, but that combination cannot exist indefinitely. Mother Nature may have hastened its end. ■

Deconstructing Nation Building

The results are in and the record isn't good.

By James L. Payne

WHEN PLUNGING INTO WAR, hope generally triumphs over experience. The past—the quiet statistical tabulation of what happened when this was tried before—tends to be ignored in the heat of angry oratory and the thump of military boots. At the outset, it is easy to believe that force will be successful in upholding virtue and that history has no relevance.

Lately, this confidence in the force of arms has centered on nation building, that is, the idea of invading and occupying a land afflicted by dictatorship or civil war and turning it into a democracy. Alas, in their enthusiasm for nation building by force of arms, neither the theorists nor the practitioners have seriously looked at the historical experience with this kind of policy. If, after the troops leave, another dictatorship or another civil war ensues, then one has ploughed the sea. One has suffered the costs of the invasion—Americans killed, local inhabitants killed, destruction of property, tax money squandered, loss of international support, and so on—to no lasting purpose.

To see how nation building in general works out, I have compiled a list of all the cases since 1850 in which the United States and Great Britain employed military forces in a foreign land to cultivate democracy. I included only those cases where ground troops were deployed and clearly intervened in local politics. I have left aside the cases involving lesser types of involvement such as sending aid or military advisors or limited peace-keeping efforts or simply having military bases in the country.

In order to constitute a complete case of attempted nation building, troops have to have left the country (or be uninvolved politically if based in the country) so that we may see whether, in the absence of military support, a stable democracy continued to exist. For this reason we cannot use ongoing involvements such as Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq. The application of this definition identifies 51 instances of attempted nation building by Britain and the United States. The question is, how often did they succeed?

The meaning of success involves more than holding an election and setting up a government. Nation building implies building, that is, constructing a lasting edifice. The nation builders concur in this notion of durability. Their idea isn't just to hold elections, get out, and have the country revert to anarchy or dictatorship. As President Bush has said, the aim in Iraq is to create lasting institutions of freedom. To call a nation building effort a success, therefore, we need to see that the military occupation of the target country was followed by the establishment of an enduring democracy.

To identify results in these terms, I inspected the political history of each country after the troop withdrawal. I looked for events betokening the collapse of democratic rule, including the suppression of opposition leaders or parties, major infringements of freedoms of speech, press, and assembly, violent transfers of power, murder of political leaders by other leaders, and significant civil war. I required large and

multiple failures along these lines as evidence of democratic failure. A few arrests of opposition leaders were not be enough to disqualify the country as a democracy nor a few assassinations of ambiguous meaning nor a simple military coup nor the resignation of an executive in the face of massive street demonstrations. If numerous free and fair elections were held, this was taken as strong evidence that democracy survived. Elections that were one-sided and to some degree rigged by the incumbents were taken as a negative sign, but they did not, in themselves, disqualify the country as democratic.

The results of applying these principles to the political outcomes in the 51 cases of intervention are shown in the following table. Overall, the results indicate that military intervention succeeded in leaving behind democracies in 14 cases—27 percent of the time. The conclusion, then, is that nation building by force is generally unsuccessful. A president who went around the world invading countries to make them democratic would fail most of the time. One group of countries that seem especially resistant to democracy-building efforts are the Arab lands. There have been nine interventions in Arab countries in the past century. In no case did stable democracy follow the military occupation.

In assessing the effectiveness of nation-building efforts, we should be careful not to confuse conjunction with cause. Just because some military interventions have been followed by democracy, this does not mean that the

interventions caused the democracy. There is a worldwide movement against the use of force, and this trend promotes democratic development. Rulers are becoming less disposed to use violence to repress oppositions, and oppositions are less inclined to use force against incumbents. As a result, countries are becoming democracies on their own, without any outside help.

For example, we might be tempted to praise the British occupation of Malaysia as bringing democracy. But in the same period, the neighboring Asian country of Thailand, not occupied, also joined the camp of democratic nations. In fact, in Freedom House's survey of political rights and civil liberties, Thailand ranks ahead of Malaysia. It is quite possible, then, that Malaysia would have become a democracy without British intervention.

South Korea presents an interesting lesson in the effectiveness of nation building. Beginning in 1945, when U.S. troops landed, the United States was heavily involved in guiding political decisions in South Korea. This political involvement essentially ceased after 1961, and the South Koreans were allowed to go their own way politically. This way proved to be a military dictatorship under General Park Chung-Hee, which lasted until his murder in 1979. Thereupon followed two coups, a violent uprising in Kwangju, and many bloody street demonstrations. By 1985, however, the suppression of civil liberties had been greatly relaxed and competitive elections were held. Since that time, South Korea can be called a democracy (albeit a noisy one with plenty of corruption). So here is a case where 16 years of American tutelage brought failure in terms of democratic nation building, while the country evolved to democracy on its own 25 years after American involvement in local politics ceased.

Nations around the world are gradually becoming democratic on their own. Therefore, the 14 cases of nation-building "success" cannot be attributed to military intervention. These countries might well have become democracies without it.

The nation-building idea has a critical, generally overlooked, gap: who knows how to do it? Pundits and presidents talk about nation building as if it were a settled technology, like building bridges or removing gall bladders. Huge amounts of government and foundation money have been poured into the topic of democracy building, and academics and bureaucrats have produced reams of verbose commentary. But still there is no concrete, useable body of knowledge.

And, being a non-specialty, there cannot be any experts in it. The people who end up doing the so-called nation building are simply ordinary government employees who happen to wind up at the scene of the military occupation. Many times they are military officers with no background in politics, sociology, or social psychology—not that it would help them. For the most part, these government employees see their mission as getting themselves and the U.S. out of the country without too much egg on their faces. They have no clearer idea of how to "instill democratic culture" than the readers of this page.

A look at some specific examples of nation building illustrates the intellectual vacuum. The 1989 U. S. invasion of Panama is credited in our tabulation as a nation-building success. Was this positive outcome the result of the expert application of political science? One of the nation builders, Lt. Col. John T. Fishel, has written a book on the Panama experience that gives quite a different picture. Fishel was Chief of Policy and Strategy for U. S. forces in Panama, and it was his job to figure out how to implement the mission statement. The orders looked simple on

paper: "Conduct nation building operations to ensure democracy." But Fishel quickly discovered that the instruction was meaningless because democracy was an "undefined goal." It seemed to him that it wasn't the job of military officers to figure out how to implement this undefined objective, but, as he observes with a touch of irritation, "there are no U. S. civilian strategists clearly articulating strategies to achieve democracy."

The fact that there was no clear definition of the conditions that constitute democracy meant that the Military Support Group and the other U.S. government agencies that were attempting to assist the Endara government had only the vaguest concept of what actions and programs would lead the country toward democracy ...

In practice, what the goal of "ensuring democracy" boiled down to was installing Guillermo Endara, the winner of a previous election, as president, supporting him as he became increasingly high-handed and unpopular, and then stepping away after his opponent was elected in 1994. Not exactly rocket science.

Were the military planners trying to tell us something when they gave the Panama nation-building exercise the code name Blind Logic?

Austria presents an instructive example of what nation building has actually amounted to on the ground. In our tabulation, Austria is classified as a case of successful nation building, but a close look reveals that the U.S. role was irrelevant, if not harmful.

After the war, Austria was jointly occupied by Russia as well as the Western powers. The Soviets brought Karl Renner, the elderly and respected Austrian Socialist leader, to Vienna to be the head of a provisional government. Renner's provisional government declared the establishment of the Democratic Austrian

Republic on April 27, 1945. For six months, the United States refused to recognize this government (fearing that the Russians were up to no good in supporting it). Finally, when it could not be denied that the provisional government was popular and functioning, the United States recognized it.

Austria thus presents a doubly ironic lesson in how nation building unfolds. The United States—the democratic power—stood in the way of local leaders who were attempting to establish a democratic regime, and the Soviet Union—the world’s leading dictatorship—unintentionally acted as midwife for the first democratic administration. Obviously, in Austria, no democracy needed to be “built.” The democratic forces in Austria were strong enough to establish a democracy on their own, and they did it in spite of the “nation builders.”

The advocates of nation building need to go back and take a close look at what really happened in the postwar political evolution of the defeated powers. In the lore of nation building, it is supposed that American experts applied sophisticated social engineering that forced these countries to become democracies against their will. It wasn’t that way at all. These countries became democracies on their own, and the bumptious generals and paper-shuffling bureaucrats of the military occupation were generally more of a hindrance than a help.

The recent intervention in Iraq further illustrates how haphazard and unfocused nation building is in practice. While the military campaign was a success, the occupation and administration has been characterized by naïveté and improvisation. The U.S. had no policy to check looting after victory, nor the forces to do it, and the result was a ravaging of local infrastructure, the rapid formation of gangs of thugs and paramilitary fighters, and a loss of local support for the U.S. effort. The civilian administration was

first put in the hands of retired Lt. Gen. Jay Garner, who was two weeks late getting to Baghdad, and who naively expected to find a functioning government in the country. After a month, the hapless Garner was fired, replaced by Paul Bremer as chief administrator. Two months after the invasion, Lt. Gen. William Wallace, the V Corps commander, described the nation-building “technique” U.S. officials were applying in Iraq: “We’re making this up here as we go along.”

Nation building by military force is not a coherent, defensible policy. It is based on no theory, it has no proven technique

or methodology, and there are no experts who know how to do it. The record shows that it usually fails, and even when it appears to succeed, the positive result owes more to historical evolution and local political culture than anything nation builders might have done. ■

Political scientist James L. Payne’s latest book is A History of Force; Exploring the Worldwide Movement Against Habits of Coercion, Bloodshed, and Mayhem. A longer version of this article will appear in The Independent Review next spring.

Nation-building Military Occupations by the United States and Great Britain, 1850-2000

U.S. Occupations

Austria 1945-1955	success
Cuba 1898-1902	failure
Cuba 1906-1909	failure
Cuba 1917-1922	failure
Dominican Republic 1911-1924	failure
Dominican Republic 1965-1967	success
Grenada 1983-1985	success
Haiti 1915-1934	failure
Haiti 1994-1996	failure
Honduras 1924	failure
Italy 1943-1945	success
Japan 1945-1952	success
Lebanon 1958	failure
Lebanon 1982-1984	failure
Mexico 1914-1917	failure
Nicaragua 1909-1910	failure
Nicaragua 1912-1925	failure
Nicaragua 1926-1933	failure
Panama 1903-1933	failure
Panama 1989-1995	success
Philippines 1898-1946	success
Somalia 1992-1994	failure
South Korea 1945-1961	failure
West Germany 1945-1952	success

British Occupations

Botswana 1886-1966	success
Brunei 1888-1984	failure
Burma (Myanmar) 1885-1948	failure
Cyprus 1914-1960	failure
Egypt 1882-1922	failure
Fiji 1874-1970	success
Ghana 1886-1957	failure
Iraq 1917-1932	failure
Iraq 1941-1947	failure
Jordan 1921-1956	failure
Kenya 1894-1963	failure
Lesotho 1884-1966	failure
Malawi (Nyasaland) 1891-1964	failure
Malaysia 1909-1957	success
Maldives 1887-1976	success
Nigeria 1861-1960	failure
Palestine 1917-1948	failure
Sierra Leone 1885-1961	failure
Solomon Islands 1893-1978	success
South Yemen (Aden) 1934-1967	failure
Sudan 1899-1956	failure
Swaziland 1903-1968	failure
Tanzania 1920-1963	failure
Tonga 1900-1970	success
Uganda 1894-1962	failure
Zambia (N. Rhodesia) 1891-1964	failure
Zimbabwe (S. Rhodesia) 1888-1980	failure

Could We Be Losing Our Minds?

Could We Lose Control of Our Thinking?

This is not as crazy as it sounds, we are, to a great extent, a product of what we see and hear, especially if it is repeated enough times. Everyone goes to the movie theater and also watches movies on television - often as much as 3-4 hours per day. Movies made for us by someone who may have malevolent intent could create chaos and divide the U.S. by promoting contentious issues, creating ethnic hatreds, or promoting narcotics. They could distort our interests and feed bad habits to our kids or distort our priorities and values in any number of other ways, overtly or in a subtle manner. 69% of our movie industry is now owned by foreign corporations. We must recognize the danger in this?

We have heard of the threat of stolen United States intellectual property, but now we are facing an alarming threat to our ability to defend and protect the minds of the American people from self-serving propaganda of foreign origin.

69% of assets in the American movie industry are now foreign owned according to the Internal Revenue Service. Foreign interests now own or control a majority of the biggest film studios in America.

Just as the implied specter of communism haunted Hollywood decades ago, a new actual threat has emerged - that of foreign ownership of the American movie industry. Imagine for a moment if the communist Soviet Union had acquired a major portion of American movie production. That much and worse has actually materialized - met with apathy and profit-taking by today's business leaders and lawmakers.

A few examples of acquisitions or majority control:

- Major interest in Time-Warner by Toshiba Corp., A Japanese electronics maker, and C. Itoh & Co., Japan's largest trading company include Warner Brothers studios and HBO.
- 20th Century Fox acquired by Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. of Australia
- Columbia Pictures purchased by Sony Corp. of Japan
- MGM-UA acquired by Sony.
- MCA/Universal Pictures acquired by Japan's Matsushita Electric Industrial Co for \$6.2 Billion

The dangers these takeovers represent are not illusory or imaginary

The motion picture industry shapes our perceptions of what is good, what is right, what is fact, and what is not. Do we now expose the American public to possible overriding influence in this area through subtle or direct propaganda? How much of our public opinion, our focus on critical issues, and our knowledge of threats to our national and economic security is shaped by the media. Though we may not immediately realize the insidious activity at work, the threat is very real - propaganda is designed to be subtle and shape perception without raising alarm.

Current laws do not protect America from foreign propaganda

U.S. law does not limit foreign ownership of broadcast networks. It only bars foreign ownership of the principal means of dissemination of the programming, namely the actual broadcast station. This is easily circumvented through a separate but interested affiliate.

Protection of our self-interests should be the norm, not the exception

Industries like defense, airlines, telecom and power are vital to national security and receive protection under U.S. law. The motion picture industry should be one of these. For example, U.S. law requires that U.S.-flag airlines allow no more than 49 percent foreign equity. However, foreign ownership of U.S. airlines is limited to 25 percent of voting stock. U.S. officials have recently even gone so far as advocating allowing foreign airlines to increase their voting stock limits to 49 percent to entice

foreign investment to help this perennially cash-strapped industry.

Evidence shows just how difficult protecting America really is

The Department of Defense monitors defense contractors very closely through their Foreign Ownership, Control or Influence (FOCI) filings. Contractors must report any foreign ownership of 5 percent or more to the Department of Defense, which determines whether such ownership constitutes a security risk. It was found in July 2005 by the Government Accountability Office that even this hallowed industry was being penetrated by foreign influence.

We are opening the door for potential disaster

A terrifying example of media control by propaganda minister Goebbels in Germany prior to WWII led an intelligent and compassionate country to murder millions. Yielding control of the media in Germany, which has now happened in the United States, allowed subtle malevolent shifts in the minds and perception of the German public to wreak havoc on it's country and the world.

It is ludicrous to think that by allowing unfettered foreign control of our industries, we will be able to protect and preserve our national interest and identity. Other countries simply do not allow this to happen to them. Are we so arrogant as to dismiss out of hand any potential competitive interest or threat?

We are perhaps the only country in the world to allow such pillars of our national and economic security to so lackadaisically fall into foreign hands.

Learn more at www.EconomyInCrisis.org.

ECONOMY IN CRISIS
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The Fathers' War

They serve their country and lose their children.

By Stephen Baskerville

WHILE OUR COUNTRY focuses on the war abroad, many of our soldiers fight personal battles here at home—or more accurately, can't fight. They are losing their families and getting little help from an administration that claims to "support the troops" while doing nothing to protect the parental rights of the fathers it sent into combat.

All the services are facing a severe drop in recruitment, and additional recruiters, stepped-up advertising, and bigger bonuses have not reversed the trend. The media points to the war itself, but the shortfall also coincides with a dramatic rise in military divorces, which the Army reports have nearly doubled since 2001. "We've seen nothing like this before," says Col. Glen Bloomstrom, a chaplain who oversees family-support programs. "It indicates the amount of stress on couples, on families, as the Army conducts the global war on terrorism."

It indicates much more than stress. "There most certainly is a relationship between current recruiting problems and an increase in military divorces," says Capt. Gene Thomas Gomulka, a retired Navy chaplain and writer on military marriage.

Muffled by feminist orthodoxy, the Army and media are not disclosing the facts behind these divorces or publicizing the threat they pose to preparedness. The important points are these: the divorces are almost all initiated by wives, the servicemen usually lose their children—which for many is their main incentive for serving their country—and finally, they often become liable to crim-

inal prosecution for child support that is impossible for them to pay.

Laws protecting active-duty servicemen against legal actions are ignored by family courts. Deployed servicemen have virtually no protection against unilaterally initiated divorce proceedings that permanently separate them from their children without any show of wrongdoing. Child kidnapping laws likewise do not protect them from having their children relocated, even to foreign countries, while they cannot be present to defend their parental rights. When they return, they have no necessary right to see their children—and can be arrested for trying to do so—who often join the ranks of the permanently fatherless.

The *Lansing State Journal* recently reported on Joe McNeilly, a National Guardsman who "would still have his son if he hadn't been deployed," according to Maj. Dawn Dancer, public-affairs officer for the Michigan National Guard. Invoking the correct legal buzzwords, the mother and her lawyer claimed he lost custody not because of his deployment but because of his "parenting skills." Yet his parenting skills were clearly defined in terms of his deployment. The court attested that it stripped him of custody because his wife was the "day-to-day caretaker and decision maker in the child's life" while McNeilly was deployed. His alleged parental deficiencies also proceeded apparently from his duties as a soldier. "My client is making sure to turn off the TV when the news reports deaths in Iraq," the mother's lawyer said, "and (McNeilly) was engaging in behaviors that brought

fear." In other words, he was fighting a war.

Even more astounding, vicariously divorced servicemen can be criminally prosecuted for child-support arrearages that are almost impossible not to accrue while they are on duty. Reservists are hit particularly hard because their child-support burdens are based on their civilian pay and do not decrease when their income decreases. Because reservists are often mobilized with little notice, few get modifications before they leave, and modifications are almost never granted anyway. They cannot get relief when they return because federal law prohibits retroactive reductions for any reason. Once arrearages reach \$5,000, the soldier becomes a felon and subject to imprisonment.

Further, states assess interest and penalties on arrearages, which may accrue because of human or computer errors. These too cannot be forgiven, so parents who fall behind for reasons beyond their control can never have these debts erased. Because state agencies are federally subsidized based on how much they collect, they have a powerful incentive not to reduce burdens, to extract every penny they can find, and to make "errors."

Deployed soldiers are also targeted by women who falsely designate them as the fathers of their newborns. "The military provides a steady, easily garnished income as well as medical care," says Carnell Smith of Citizens Against Paternity Fraud. It is difficult to contest paternity while fighting a war thousands of miles away.

Spouses have other financial incentives to divorce military personnel. A serviceman must complete 20 years of active service to qualify for retirement pay. A woman married to the man for one day may claim a portion of the pension for life, without regard to fault or need, simply by filing for divorce. As David Usher points out in *Men's News Daily*, there is no limit on how many times a woman can do this. (Men have done it too.)

None of this is hypothetical. Many veterans face such hardships now:

- "Gary," an 18-year veteran with an unblemished military and civilian record, was stripped of his child by a California court while deployed in Afghanistan as a Navy SEAL, according to Fox News. Columnist Glenn Sacks reports that he is now being bankrupted by child support and legal fees.
- Bobby Sherrill, a father of two from Parkton, North Carolina, was held hostage in Iraq for nearly five months. The night he returned from the Persian Gulf he was arrested for failing to pay \$1,425 in child support while captive.
- While serving in Iraq, Taron James was ordered to pay support for a child he knew could not be his, and DNA tests confirmed his claim. The district attorney and Los Angeles County Child Support Services nevertheless seized his tax refund annually, blocked him from renewing his notary-public license—which caused him to lose his job—ruined his credit, blocked him from obtaining a passport, and forced him to drop out of college.

These are not aberrations. They proceed from the ideologically and bureaucratically driven logic of the custody-support industry, which depends for its

justification on removing children and criminalizing the fathers.

The Army's response has been to spend millions on therapeutic gimmicks in a futile effort to reduce the divorces: counseling services, support groups, romantic getaways, even advice to single soldiers on how to pick partners wisely.

"Our hope is to change the culture," says Bloomstrom, who also adopts civilian-sector jargon. "Initially there's a stigma about any program to do with relationships. We need to teach that there's nothing wrong with preventive maintenance for marriage."

The Army is burying its head in the sand. We can only hope that communications workshops and cultural understanding are not the approach they take to opponents in the field. They do so in this case because the threat is not Islamic radicals but feminist radicals.

Those affected see through the obfuscation. "This is outrageous," said Kathy Moakler, deputy director of government relations of the National Military Family Association. "It's a scary precedent to set, charging the parent with abandonment because he was deployed."

Obviously these men have not abandoned their children. Yet what justifies criminal penalties, if it is not to catch those who have? If these fathers are being stripped of their children and criminalized through no fault of their own, why should we assume that others are being treated any less unjustly? This points to the larger issue, since the obvious injustices to soldiers, sailors, and airmen are simply the logical next step from what has been inflicted on others for years. The dysfunctional effects on military efficiency are also paralleled elsewhere in society.

The flight of men from the military strikingly parallels the flight of men from marriage, with its attendant drop in birth rates, that has come to preoc-

cupy policymakers up to the level of president. Men are staying away from both institutions for the same reasons: for many they have become a ticket to jail.

The National Marriage Project at Rutgers University reports a continued drop in the marriage rate. They too ignore the criminal penalties that men can incur when they marry, instead urging therapy and formulaically excoriating men for their lack of "commitment." Citing the Rutgers study, Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services Wade Horn promotes federal marriage programs inculcating "conflict-resolution skills."

Men do not risk their lives, fight, and die for a country that is an abstraction. They fight and die for their families and homes and freedom, all of which are being taken away by the courts. "Sometimes I wonder what I risked my life for [in Afghanistan]," "Gary" tells Sacks. "I went to fight for freedom but what freedom and what rights mean anything if a man doesn't have the right to be a father to his own child?"

Gordon Dollar was a reservist for 16 years in the National Guard and Naval Reserves. "I have friends that are very motivated and dedicated people, Frogmen/SEALS, Green Berets, and Rangers, and they were getting out too," he tells Usher. "I think people who served this country are feeling betrayed by it, and see no point in serving it."

California Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger has just signed legislation protecting military personnel in custody and child-support cases. Missouri is the only other state to protect reservists on active duty by requiring automatic adjustments in their child support. More states need to act.

Federally, the Servicemembers Civil Relief Act, which protects deployed military persons from other civil suits, should be amended to include specifi-

cally the actions of divorce courts and child-support bureaucracies. The Uniform Child Custody Jurisdiction and Enforcement Act, designed to prevent parental kidnappings, could also be modified to protect service personnel whose children are snatched away. Finally, Congress should repeal the infamous Bradley Amendment, so that judges can exercise reasonable discretion to modify child-support debts downward as well as upward in cases in patent injustice.

It is ironic that, as we defend a questionable military policy with patriotic appeals to support the troops who must execute it, we allow the breakdown of traditional morality and the erosion of ancient legal protections for the family to ruin those same troops once they return home. This undermines not only the military, of course, but also the patriotic appeals. But even more, in the long run it also undermines our national defense. It would be difficult to find a single policy that so simultaneously weakens the nation within and without.

What we are seeing here is only one vindication of now forgotten prophecies from critics like G.K. Chesterton that easy divorce would destroy not only the family but civilization itself. Yet as the prediction is fulfilled before our eyes, our leaders obfuscate it with clichés and psychobabble.

The much-belabored parallel with Rome is irresistible. External threats are successfully withstood until the internal moral decay that accompanies the breakdown of republican freedom and virtue. For Islamists who regard the West as a morally and sexually decadent culture, the prospect must be encouraging. ■

Stephen Baskerville is a political scientist and president of the American Coalition for Fathers and Children.

Trading Up

A new school of economic thought better fits the facts.

By Ian Fletcher

AFTER DECADES of providing academic legitimacy to the free-trade consensus, the economics profession is finally starting to make public something it has actually known for some time: free trade is a far more dicey proposition than commonly supposed. The most famous recent apostasy came from MIT's Paul Samuelson—Nobel laureate, author of the best-selling economics textbook in history, and general Grand Old Man of the discipline—but he is only the tip of a very large iceberg.

That iceberg is called New Trade Theory, and it is destined to become prominent in public debate over the next few years as America tries to think its way out of the \$500 billion a year deficit free trade has drawn us into.

New Trade Theory began to develop in the early 1980s, partly in response to America's trade problems with Japan. It is now a well-developed critique, operating within accepted standards for economic thinking and thus immune to that favorite canard of free trade ideologues, "You don't understand economics."

But before economic patriots break out the champagne, they should understand exactly what New Trade Theory does and does not prove. It does not prove that any type of protectionism is *eo ipso* better than free trade. It proves something more oblique and thus more unsatisfying if they are unfamiliar with theoretical economics. It proves that it is mathematically possible for protectionism to be sometimes best because it is mathematically possible for free trade to be sometimes less than best.

This is an important change as conventional trade theory purports to prove that free trade is always (with minor and grudging exceptions) best. But New Trade Theory shows that its mathematical models, seemingly so airtight, do not accurately reflect the complexities of the real economy. Economists, for better or worse, take these more seriously than the non-quantitative arguments with which we are more familiar. These models move the profession and the advice it gives to policymakers in a way Ralph Nader does not.

So how is conventional trade theory wrong? Start with how little it actually promises, even if true. The way some free traders talk, you'd think America would be in the Stone Age without it. They often lump in all benefits of trade under the heading of free trade, which is not the same thing.

Conventional trade theory, while unequivocally endorsing free trade, does not actually predict it to be all that much better, quantitatively, for a large and diversified economy like the United States. There is not the space here to explain the standard analysis, but the question of what free trade is worth turns on the size of what are called Harberger Triangles after the graph in which they appear. These triangles are estimated to be maybe 2-3 percent of GNP. That's all we get for all the trouble free trade causes!

This is intuitively plausible if one remembers how well the U.S. did in the '50s and '60s, when our imports, other than oil, were mostly odds and ends like

bananas and Volkswagens. Or how the U.S. became the world's leading industrial power during our protectionist period, which lasted from Alexander Hamilton until the Cold War made us open our markets to the world as a bribe not to go communist. The globalist myth that free trade is essential to our prosperity, as opposed to a (questionable) layer of icing on our economic cake, is ludicrous.

The gains from free trade are not only small, they are swamped by free trade's income-distribution effects. If free trade causes a 3 percent increase in GNP but a 5 percent redistribution of income from employees to employers, most of the population loses. Distribution-agnostic models of trade, which count gains from trade without analyzing who receives them, are meaningless.

Those readers who know their economics will rightly object at this point that the above only considers so-called "static" gains from free trade, that is, the immediate benefits of abolishing a tariff or not having one in the first place, not

conventional trade theory must rely upon general ideas of how economies function, New Trade Theory has exposed the dubious assumptions that it makes in this area. It relies on primitive, simplistic, and outdated economic ideas that are no longer taken seriously in other parts of the discipline. And second, because anything that conventional trade theory says happens must happen by means of a specific mechanism, it has investigated what these mechanisms must be and has discovered that many do not pan out in detail, no matter how plausible they seem when described casually or in the abstract.

For example, free trade is touted as increasing the entrepreneurial vigor of an economy. New Trade theorists have discovered that for this to be true, certain strict conditions must be met. Without them, it is just as easy for foreign imports to destroy the incentives for entrepreneurship in the affected industry. There hasn't exactly been a flurry of start-up activity in the American VCR industry lately.

Conventional trade theory also claims that free trade benefits economies by increasing economies of scale as it opens up wider markets. New Trade Theory has probed this claim and found that it, too, only pans out if certain strict conditions are met. For example, it requires that industries in which there are increasing returns to scale expand after trade liberalization. If these industries merely lose sales to foreign competition, then returns to scale go into reverse. As expected, some empirical data indeed show that high import penetration correlates with productivity stagnation.

Similarly, conventional trade theory claims that free trade enhances technological dynamism. Unfortunately, this is based on the casual assumption that increased competition necessarily increases dynamism. But it is well established that the relationship between competition and innovation is much more complex than that. AT&T certainly didn't lead innovation for 100 years because of free competition.

This naïveté about technology is symptomatic of a deeper flaw in conventional trade theory: its claims are not embedded in a state-of-the-art theory of industrial performance, of what drives productivity at the firm and industry level. It is now well-understood that, *pace* techno-libertarianism, technological growth is the product of a complex interaction of supply-side and demand-side factors that produce different results under different circumstances. Opening an economy to free trade may be beneficial to the right nation in the right stage of economic development, but for a different nation, it can cut the other way.

This is a recurring theme of New Trade Theory: free trade has ambivalent effects depending on circumstances. Ideology-driven notions about it being univocally good or bad just don't square with real economics. Irony of ironies, the ski-masked protestors of Seattle belong

OPENING AN ECONOMY TO FREE TRADE MAY BE BENEFICIAL TO THE RIGHT NATION IN THE RIGHT STAGE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, BUT FOR A DIFFERENT NATION, IT CAN CUT THE OTHER WAY.

the long-term benefits that supposedly accrue from free trade making the whole economy more efficient. Free traders rely upon these "dynamic" gains to push free trade's benefits above a few percentage points. They constitute the hard economics that underlies all the puffery about the glory of the globalized world economy. Unfortunately for free traders, it is in the analysis of dynamic gains from free trade that New Trade Theory really comes into its own.

New Trade Theory has damaged old theories concerning dynamic gains from free trade in two ways. First, because

This problem is worse in many Third World and newly industrializing countries, where the ready availability of imports may kill off whole sectors of the economy before they can mature to the point where they could handle competition. The Third World was promised a lot in the neoliberal '90s that hasn't materialized, and New Trade Theory has some answers as to why. For example, many supposed benefits of free trade—like technological innovation—are lost to Third World nations because they lack the indigenous ability to digest these supposed gifts.

LOOK AT THE FACTS: IT SHOULD BE OBVIOUS TO ANYONE THAT OUR ECONOMIC OPERATING SYSTEM NO LONGER ALLOWS US TO COMPETE

We have been predatorily rendered uncompetitive with much of the rest of the world and we can no longer support ourselves. We can't compete with Chinese wage rates; we can't compete with Japan's capital and knowledge intensive superior manufacturing industries. Our present standard of living can now only be supported by imports and debt which we can pay off only if we sell ownership of our wealth producing industries. We have sold 8600 of some of our best companies in the last 10 years to foreign countries. In fact, a big percentage of whole industries like 69% of the movie industry, 81% of the cement industry, 100% of the TV manufacturing industry and a host of others are now owned by foreign companies. The profit that we formerly counted on to propel our economy is now lost as a result. We have fewer companies to produce for ourselves so we must import more and more from foreign companies which is now propelling us into a major state of dependency and choking debt.

Last year, our balance of trade deficit escalated to \$617 billion - that is \$1.25 million dollars per minute exiting our country. The accumulation of this money to foreign countries has allowed countries like Japan to accumulate 1 trillion American dollars to buy anything or any company in America that they want and our companies are for sale to anyone on the open stock market. China has \$600 billion, Korea has \$200 billion. We are being economically subjugated in an economic war and losing ownership and control of our country almost as if we lost a military war.

GM has a for sale value based on present stock price of less than \$20 billion. Japan could theoretically buy GM for only 2% of its available American currency reserves. They have not yet bought GM but they have been buying many of our other strategic companies that generate wealth, which we need to protect ourselves and support our living standards.

A few simple facts will show the glaring difference between the US and Japan, which shows clearly that they are extremely more efficient and have a much better economic operating system than we do. Japan with only 4% of our land area and 40% of our population and with no resources had an \$80 Billion dollar balance of trade surplus with us last year and the all time highest current account surplus with the world of \$181 billion. We had a current account deficit of \$665 billion with the rest of the world.

We are now extremely vulnerable as we don't own enough of our own companies to earn enough money to pay our bills or support ourselves. However, our problems are not beyond fixing. We must first recognize we can't continue like this, allowing our industrial base to collapse and outsourcing our manufacturing to foreign countries; living on imports and debt and selling productive companies to cover our debts.

Our children will pay a terrible price for these mistakes. Major changes must quickly take place or we will soon see an America we won't recognize.

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on the same intellectual scrap heap as the *Wall Street Journal* editorial page.

The practical implication of this is that free trade is just one economic-development strategy among many. A powerful strategy sometimes, to be sure, but needful of discretion and choice in its application. That nations therefore need governments with the expertise and civic virtue to make these choices correctly is a sobering implication but not a refutation. There is no way to avoid choosing some policy and there is no neutral or default choice, only the

that make them self-reinforcing, intelligible, and susceptible to advantageous manipulation by companies and nations that understand them.

Much of New Trade Theory is simply the application of the well-established economic principle the Theory of the Second-Best. This holds that even if perfectly free markets are best in an ideal world, the minute you introduce one market imperfection, subsequent imperfections may in fact be better than pure free-market policies, as they may just cancel out previous imperfections and

England swapping wool for Portuguese wine. But today, most trade is in manufactured goods, so comparative advantages are mainly artificial. Most are accidents of industrial history, sometimes decades old, whose effects became entrenched as economies of scale and accumulated know-how made established industries difficult to dislodge. As a result, the distribution of comparative advantage is largely arbitrary, from the point-of-view of today, and assigns winners and losers in ways that are not necessarily efficient in Ricardo's sense.

Why, for example, should Switzerland, endowed by nature only with scenery, have dominated the world watch industry, to its immense profit? Why should Finland have such a strong position in cellular phones today? It simply isn't true, as free-trade theory claims, that free trade automatically shunts nations into those industries for which they are best suited. There isn't one right answer for who is the naturally most efficient producer. And if free trade doesn't always produce the best possible outcome, something else might sometimes produce better.

This insight has been mathematized by Ralph Gomory and William Baumol in their *Global Trade And Conflicting National Interests*. National rivalry, not harmony, is the condition predicted by their model, as nations tussle over comparative advantages rather than meekly submitting to their natural places in the world economy. Free traders' eternal claim that trade rivalries are merely the product of nations' failure to see where their true self-interest lies is finally refuted not just empirically but in theory as well.

Another criticism of Comparative Advantage is most closely associated with economist Paul Craig Roberts. He points out that the theory presupposes that capital used to produce traded goods is immobile between nations. (One cannot pack up the vineyards of

FREE TRADERS' ETERNAL CLAIM THAT TRADE RIVALRIES ARE MERELY THE PRODUCT OF NATIONS' FAILURE TO SEE WHERE THEIR SELF-INTEREST LIES IS FINALLY REFUTED.

search for beneficial over harmful policies. It is impossible to abdicate responsibility to the free market, as this merely brings all the pluses and minuses of free trade with no intrinsic guarantee the former will outweigh the latter.

New Trade Theory is based, ultimately, on four innovations that have in recent years modified reigning neoclassical economics: an appreciation of market imperfections; the new industrial economics of strategic behavior; New Growth Theory, a fresh approach to the question of economic growth; and a changing appreciation of political context.

The neoclassical orthodoxy is no longer what it was in its '80s and '90s heyday—not that think-tank hacks, neo-conservative magazines, or hired-gun consulting firms have taken note.

This orthodoxy was aware of market imperfections but did not take them very seriously on the assumption that they are relatively small, tend to cancel each other out, and there's no good theory for analyzing them. New Trade Theory has challenged all this by showing that in trade, they are bigger than has been thought and tend to have patterns

push the market back towards efficiency, not away from it. So if we don't have perfectly free domestic markets, due to government regulation and other factors, perfectly free markets in foreign trade are not necessarily optimal. For example, if trade is subsidized by the global U.S. security apparatus, it should be taxed to balance this subsidy or the market will produce too much of it.

Criticism of free trade must eventually reckon with its theoretical heart, the venerable theory of comparative advantage. This classic argument holds that nations are best off when they produce what they are better at and trade it for what they are worse at. The problem, of course, is that it is not a matter of indifference what a nation is better at, just as a janitor is not indifferent to the fact that he is better at something different from a surgeon. That Taiwan is better at producing laptops and Togo at producing cocoa gives the Taiwanese a vastly higher quality of life.

This might imply nothing if comparative advantages were determined by things nobody can do anything about, as in David Ricardo's ancient example of

Portugal and move them to England.) But if that capital is mobile, as is the case in a post-Cold War world where most nations are open for business, then corporations are no longer constrained to settle for comparative advantage but can pursue absolute advantage based on the cheapest adequate labor. This leads to international labor-cost arbitrage, which does not necessarily benefit a high-cost labor force.

This all begs the question whether a nation is better off taking the best deal it can get under the existing distribution of comparative advantage or whether it should sacrifice a bit of short-term efficiency to shift long-term comparative advantage in its favor. Japan might have been better off in 1950 if it had allowed its people to buy Chevrolets, but it chose to force them to buy Toyotas, enabling a world-beating industry to be built up by 1980.

This “infant industries” argument was familiar to Hamilton, father of America’s protectionist tradition. New Trade Theory shows that it doesn’t only apply to infant industries but also, under certain circumstances, to mature ones. Perhaps America should have sacrificed consumer welfare for a few years in the ’70s and ’80s to stop Japan from destroying its TV industry? Perhaps buying cheap goods from China today is helping China build up her competitive industrial skills in a way that will cost us more in the long term than the value of those goods?

Or perhaps not. Many nations have tried to play these neo-mercantilist industrial policy games and failed. In trade, the free market may not always be right, but outsmarting it is not a game for amateurs. For 20 years after World War II, Latin America seemed to be winning with a strategy of tariff-based import-substituting industrialization. Then it stumbled. Conversely, post-1989 Russia embraced free trade too soon and wiped out whole industries. It is all

a matter of when and how, and there is no perfect one-size-fits-all policy. Different economies are subject to the same general laws, but these laws operate upon particular facts that differ from economy to economy. New Trade Theory makes clear globalism is wrong and the national economy still matters, if only because different nations will thrive best under different policies.

New Trade Theory makes other criticisms too technical to recount here. It has discovered many purely methodological flaws in the case for free trade. Causality is one: successful nations and industries may have high exports, but did they become successful because they exported, or did they export because they were successful? It is also hard to draw clean statistical conclusions about one country when its international trade results are inescapably complicated by the trade policies of 200-odd other nation-states. And it is difficult to distinguish the effects of trade policy from the

The last resort of free traders is to abandon economics altogether and make the political argument that no government is wise enough to apply protectionism correctly. They argue the attempt will just enable parasitism by industrial and labor interests at public expense. This is not wholly wrong, but the empirical evidence for its quantitative scale is in fact soft, perhaps because other players in the economy are aware of merely corrupt protectionism and tend to fight it.

More fundamentally, one cannot charge these costs against protectionism without charging against free trade the costs of the parasitism that occurs under it, despite its blithe pretensions of political innocence. Having lived through a decade of corporations using free trade as an excuse to rewrite of America’s laws for their profit under NAFTA and the WTO, we have no excuse for naïveté. This is true both as a purely economic question of companies wheedling hidden subsidies and as a

A GOVERNMENT FOR SALE TO THE HIGHEST CORPORATE BIDDER IS SCANDALOUS; ONE FOR SALE TO THE HIGHEST FOREIGN BIDDER IS A FORMULA FOR NATIONAL SUICIDE.

effects of other national policies, like macroeconomic stability, which free trade can impair by exposing the national economy to the fluctuations of the world economy and fickle “hot money” investment capital.

Conventional trade theory systematically overestimates the importance of factors that are easy to mathematize. This is ultimately due to economists’ mistaken elevation of physics, as opposed to biology or other less numerical sciences, as the model for social science. But there is no good reason to think neat factors that are easy to wrap an equation around are more important in the economy than messy ones. Businesses don’t run on math alone.

more profound political question about the health of our democracy. A government for sale to the highest corporate bidder is scandalous; one for sale to the highest foreign corporate bidder is a formula for national suicide.

The cost of free trade has gotten too high for us to treat the cost of protectionism as a dispositive objection; we must properly weigh the relative costs of the two policies. New Trade Theory will be the key intellectual tool that lets us do this with real economic analysis, not competitive sloganeering. It comes not a moment too soon. ■

Ian Fletcher is chief economist of the American Engineering Association.

Iraq 1920

The U.S isn't the first to try remodeling Mesopotamia.

In their introduction to an August 22, 1920 piece entitled "A Report on Mesopotamia," London's Sunday Times explained that Lt. Col. T.E. Lawrence—better known as the legendary Lawrence of Arabia—"has written this article at our request in order that the public may be fully informed of our Mesopotamian commitments."

Lawrence first traveled to Mesopotamia—now Iraq—as an archeologist, but joined British military intelligence when World War I broke out. He went on to serve as the British liaison officer to the Arabs, organizing the tribes to defeat the Turks and extend Arab-British control. He argued for Arab independence at the Versailles Peace Conference, where Syria, Palestine, and Iraq were mandated to France and Britain against his objection.

By 1920, with British attempts to build an Iraqi colony growing as unpopular on the home front as they were in Baghdad, the Colonial Office appointed Winston Churchill to find a solution. He recruited Lawrence, whose gloomy assessment of British prospects then does not bode well for the current American project.

THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND have been led in Mesopotamia into a trap from which it will be hard to escape with dignity and honour. They have been tricked into it by a steady withholding of information. The Baghdad communiques are belated, insincere, incomplete. Things have been far worse than we have been told, our administration more bloody and inefficient than the public knows. It is a disgrace to our imperial record, and may

soon be too inflamed for any ordinary cure. We are today not far from a disaster.

The sins of commission are those of the British civil authorities in Mesopotamia (especially of three "colonels") who were given a free hand by London. They are controlled from no Department of State, but from the empty space which divides the Foreign Office from the India Office. They availed themselves of the necessary discretion of wartime to carry over their dangerous independence into times of peace. They contest every suggestion of real self-government sent them from home. A recent proclamation about autonomy circulated with unction from Baghdad was drafted and published out there in a hurry, to forestall a more liberal statement in preparation in London, "Self-determination papers" favourable to England were extorted in Mesopotamia in 1919 by official pressure, by aeroplane demonstrations, by deportations to India.

The Cabinet cannot disclaim all responsibility. They receive little more news than the public: they should have insisted on more, and better. They have sent draft after draft of reinforcements, without enquiry. When conditions became too bad to endure longer, they decided to send out as High Commissioner the original author of the present system, with a conciliatory message to the Arabs that his heart and policy have completely changed.

Yet our published policy has not changed, and does not need changing. It is that there has been a deplorable contrast between our profession and our practice. We said we went to Mesopotamia to defeat Turkey. We said we stayed to

deliver the Arabs from the oppression of the Turkish Government, and to make available for the world its resources of corn and oil. We spent nearly a million men and nearly a thousand million of money to these ends. This year we are spending ninety-two thousand men and fifty millions of money on the same objects.

Our government is worse than the old Turkish system. They kept fourteen thousand local conscripts embodied, and killed a yearly average of two hundred Arabs in maintaining peace. We keep ninety thousand men, with aeroplanes, armoured cars, gunboats, and armoured trains. We have killed about ten thousand Arabs in this rising this summer. We cannot hope to maintain such an average: it is a poor country, sparsely peopled; but Abd el Hamid would applaud his masters, if he saw us working. We are told the object of the rising was political, we are not told what the local people want. It may be what the Cabinet has promised them. A Minister in the House of Lords said that we must have so many troops because the local people will not enlist. On Friday the Government announce the death of some local levies defending their British officers, and say that the services of these men have not yet been sufficiently recognized because they are too few (adding the characteristic Baghdad touch that they are men of bad character). There are seven thousand of them, just half the old Turkish force of occupation. Properly officered and distributed, they would relieve half our army there. Cromer controlled Egypt's six million people with five thousand British

troops; Colonel Wilson fails to control Mesopotamia's three million people with ninety thousand troops.

We have not reached the limit of our military commitments. Four weeks ago the staff in Mesopotamia drew up a memorandum asking for four more divisions. I believe it was forwarded to the War Office, which has now sent three brigades from India. If the North-West Frontier cannot be further denuded, where is the balance to come from? Meanwhile, our unfortunate troops, Indian and British, under hard conditions of climate and supply, are policing an immense area, paying dearly every day in lives for the willfully wrong policy of the civil administration in Baghdad. General Dyer was relieved of his command in India for a much smaller error, but the responsibility in this case is not on the Army, which has acted only at the request of the civil authorities. The War Office has made every effort to reduce our forces, but the decisions of the Cabinet have been against them.

The Government in Baghdad have been hanging Arabs in that town for political offences, which they call rebellion. The Arabs are not at war with us. Are these illegal executions to provoke the Arabs to reprisals on the three hundred British prisoners they hold? And, if so, is it that their punishment may be more severe, or is it to persuade our other troops to fight to the last?

We say we are in Mesopotamia to develop it for the benefit of the world. All experts say that the labour supply is the ruling factor in its development. How far will the killing of ten thousand villagers and townspeople this summer hinder the production of wheat, cotton, and oil? How long will we permit millions of pounds, thousands of Imperial troops, and tens of thousands of Arabs to be sacrificed on behalf of colonial administration which can benefit nobody but its administrators? ■

The mysterious affair of the two undercover British soldiers who were apprehended by Iraqi police near Basra on Sept. 19 is being hushed up by both London and Baghdad.

The mission of the two commandos continues to be somewhat opaque, but what is clear is that they were armed far too heavily to be engaged in a simple reconnaissance mission. Initial police reports indicated that they had bomb-making material inside their vehicle. It has been suggested that the soldiers might have been intending to set off a bomb to embarrass Moqtada al-Sadr or to sharpen the division between his Mehdi Army and the rival Badr Brigades. That they were busted out of jail by a squadron of tanks suggests that they were viewed as very important by the British high command. In their operations in Northern Ireland, the British occasionally resorted to proxy bombings and assassinations to support their political objectives, and it is perhaps not so far-fetched to speculate that they are doing the same in Iraq.



Chastened for its slow response to Hurricane Katrina and fearful of its falling poll numbers, the White House is dumping hundreds of billions of borrowed dollars on Mississippi and Louisiana.

It is eager to shift the blame for poor planning away from the administration and has appointed a decidedly partisan panel to examine the government failure. Heading the investigation is Frances Townsend, White House adviser on terrorism, and the spin has already begun: her brief is to "determine what could have been done better." Townsend is regarded as extremely loyal to the president, and it is inconceivable that she will come up with any findings that might embarrass the White House. (She was missing in action for two days after Katrina, even though her job at the National Security Council was to co-ordinate with the Department of Homeland Security.) Other panels have been set up by the House of Representatives and the Senate. The House panel, which is dominated by Republicans, will begin by grilling the hapless former FEMA head Michael Brown, who will no doubt be the fall guy in the upcoming drama. The Senate has its own investigation. It is almost certain that, apart from Brown, no one will be held accountable for anything.



Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko has secured parliamentary approval for his candidate to be prime minister, moderate economist Yuri Yekhanurov.

Yushchenko's former prime minister, Yulia "Lady Macbeth" Timoshenko, is now a bitter enemy and will run to unseat him in the next presidential election. The tiff at the center of the Orange Revolution is really over who will be allowed to steal government assets and on what terms because nearly everyone accepts that a license to steal is one of the perks of office. Former Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma only got into trouble because he stole too much too fast. Timoshenko, a self-made billionaire, has frequently been accused of corruption. The depiction of Yushchenko as the Ukraine's own version of Jimmy Carter was largely a creation of the Western media.

Philip Giraldi, a former CIA Officer, is a partner in Cannistraro Associates.

1.8 Billion Rounds Later

The “cakewalk war” is now two and a half years old. U.S. casualties (dead and wounded) number 20,000. As 20,000 is the number of Iraqi insurgents according to

American military commanders, each insurgent is responsible for one U.S. casualty.

Our troops in Iraq number about 150,000. Obviously, U.S. troops have not inflicted 150,000 casualties on the Iraqi insurgents. American troops have perhaps inflicted 150,000 casualties on the Iraqi civilian population, primarily women and children who are the collateral damage of the “righteous” and “virtuous” invasion that is spreading civilian deaths all over Mesopotamia in the name of democracy.

What could the U.S. have possibly done to give America a worse name than to invade Iraq and murder its citizens?

According to the Sept. 1 *Manufacturing & Technology News*, the Government Accountability Office has reported that over the course of the war, the U.S. military’s use of small-caliber ammunition has risen to 1.8 billion rounds. Think about that number: if there are 20,000 insurgents, it means U.S. troops have fired 90,000 rounds at each insurgent.

Very few have been hit. We don’t know how many. To avoid the analogy with Vietnam, until recently the U.S. military studiously avoided body counts. If 2,000 insurgents have been killed, each death required 900,000 rounds of ammunition.

The combination of American government-owned ammo plants and those of U.S. commercial producers together cannot make bullets as fast as our troops are firing them. The Bush administration has had to turn to foreign pro-

ducers such as Israel Military Industries. Hollowed out U.S. industry cannot produce enough ammunition to defeat a 20,000-man insurgency.

Military analysts are beginning to wonder if the U.S. has been defeated by the insurgency. Increasingly, Bush administration spokesmen sound like “Baghdad Bob.” On Sept. 19 the *Washington Post* reported that U.S. military spinmeister Maj. Gen. Rich Lynch declared “great success” against the insurgency that had just inflicted the worst casualties of the war, including a three-day mortar attack on the “safe” Green Zone.

Anthony Cordesman, a military expert at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C., says, “We can’t secure the airport road, can’t stop the incoming (mortar rounds) into the Green Zone, can’t stop the killings and kidnappings.” The insurgency controls most of Baghdad and the Sunni provinces.

With its judgment lost to frustration, the U.S. military has 40,000 Iraqis in detention—twice the number of estimated insurgents. Who are these detainees? According to the *Washington Post*, “Many of the men detained in Tal Afar last week were rounded up on the advice of local teenagers who had stepped forward as informants, at times for what American soldiers said they suspected amounted to no more than settling local scores.” Obviously, the U.S., not knowing who or where the insurgents are, is just striking blindly, creating a larger insurgency.

The Iraqi government, despite being backed by the U.S. military, is unable to control movement across the Iraqi-Syrian border. So the Bush administration has passed the buck to Syria. Puny Syria is declared guilty of not doing what the U.S. military cannot do.

Adam Ereli, the demented U.S. State Department spokesperson, denounced the Syrian government for “permitting” insurgents to cross the border. The U.S. government cannot prevent a steady stream of one million Mexicans from illegally crossing its border each year, but Syria is supposed to be able to stop a couple hundred foreign fighters from sneaking across its border.

Ereli misrepresents Syria’s inability to be “an unwillingness,” which indicates that Syria is consorting with terrorists, not only in Iraq, but also in Lebanon and Palestine. Does this sound like Syria being set up for invasion?

According to news reports, at Ted Forstmann’s annual meeting of movers and shakers, U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Zalmay Khalilzad predicted that U.S. troops will soon enter into Syria. Simultaneously, the Bush administration is desperately trying to orchestrate a case that it can use to attack Iran. Stalemated in Iraq, the White House intends to attack two more countries.

At the Human Rights Conference on Sept. 9, the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir Mohamad, described Americans as “people with blood-soaked hands.” “Who are the terrorists,” asked Mahathir, the Iraqis or the Americans?

The entire world is asking this question. ■

Paul Craig Roberts was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under President Reagan.

Arts & Letters

FILM

[Proof]

Of Mathematics and Madness

By Steve Sailer

Tom Stoppard's "Arcadia," an affectionate romp through the mathematics of chaos theory, and his "Hapgood," an inexplicable explication of quantum mechanics, are the masterpiece and failure, respectively, of the theater's recent interest in scholars. Other examples include Michael Frayn's "Copenhagen," Margaret Edson's "Wit," and David Auburn's "Proof," a drama about mathematicians that ran for 900 performances on Broadway, a street not previously known for its math-friendliness.

Some critics have derided "Proof" as middlebrow for showing few of the formulas that obsess the main characters. In reality, middlebrow is a compliment, since it means a script pitched well above the contemporary average. In the admirable middlebrow tradition, "Proof" displays a healthy respect for mathematicians and an informative interest in those aspects of their careers that we can comprehend, such as their fear of losing their creativity before they hit 30.

Now John Madden—not the football maven but the English director—has made "Proof" into a film that is likable and often funny, if perhaps a bit too tidy and benign. It stars Hollywood's favorite portrayers of highbrows, Sir Anthony Hopkins and Gwyneth Paltrow, who won an Oscar in Madden's "Shakespeare

in Love" and played an English professor in the 2002 adaptation of A.S. Byatt's dazzling scholastic novel *Possession*.

Ironically, Sir Anthony freely admits to interviewers that he is a lowbrow who fled his apparent destiny as Olivier's successor on the Shakespearean stage to be a Hollywood movie star, which allows him to indulge his hobby of roaring around rural America in 1960s muscle cars. Paltrow's higher education consisted of one year of art history at UC Santa Barbara.

In "Proof," Paltrow plays the gifted but troubled daughter of Hopkins's mathematician—roughly modeled on John Nash of "A Beautiful Mind"—who revolutionized three fields before schizophrenia struck at age 26. She put her own math studies on hold to nurse him for the last five years, during one of which he was lucid enough to try to do new work. In the first scene, friendless on her 27th birthday, she converses with him, which raises questions in her own mind about whether she has inherited his insanity, since he had died the week before. (There is indeed a thin line between genius and eccentricity, and sometimes between genius and manic-depression, but Nash's biographer called him the "tragic exception" to the rule that schizophrenia precludes great accomplishment. Nash was the rare prodigy who had already proven his brilliance before he began hearing from space aliens at the age of 30.)

A kindly young mathematician, played by Jake Gyllenhaal, is rooting about in her father's 103 gibberish-filled notebooks, searching for one last spasm of insight, when she gives him another notebook. To his astonishment, it contains the long-awaited proof of a famous conjecture about prime numbers—perhaps the Riemann Hypothesis of 1859, the subject

of John Derbyshire's 2003 book *Prime Obsession*, which has become the K2 of mathematics in the decade since Andrew Wiles conquered math's Mt. Everest by proving Fermat's Last Theorem.

Then the daughter claims to have written it. But how do you prove the provenance of a proof?

Sir Anthony hasn't bothered to master an American accent. His British intonation helped wreck his last performance as a professor, in 2003's rendition of Philip Roth's novel *The Human Stain*, where Hopkins played, with zero verisimilitude, a part-black academic passing as white.

In "Proof," though, he merely has to read his lines, and he can still enunciate with the best of them. Unfortunately, his superb diction undermines Paltrow's visually strong performance because, burdened by her grating Valley Girl accent, she has possibly the worst-sounding voice of any celebrated actress since Elizabeth Taylor.

Amusingly, many critics have denounced Gyllenhaal, the nephew of leading leftist historian Eric Foner, as too handsome to play a theoretician (they must never have seen photographs of the young Einstein), without mentioning the implausibility of Paltrow—who, while she may not be the classic beauty of her reputation, is plenty adorable—as a math whiz.

"Proof," fortunately, is largely lacking in the feminist resentment that has been focused on college math departments since last winter's Larry Summers brouhaha. As Gyllenhaal's character makes clear, there's nothing the men of mathematics would like more than for beautiful young women to share their passion. ■

Rated PG-13 for some sexual content, language, and drug references

LIBERAL CATHOLICISM IS SUICIDAL



The liberal, anti-doctrinal spirit is poisoning the Catholic Church in America. Liberal Catholics don't like to talk about sin and its consequences. But then why did Christ bother to get crucified? And what are we saved from? Liberal priests are silent about Hell — but if there's no Hell, why be good? Why go to Mass? Not surprisingly, Mass attendance has dropped dramatically.

Liberals are forever bellyaching about the “sexist, homophobic, oppressive” Church. Not surprisingly, they're unable to attract converts.

Liberal clerics excuse their congregations from the Church's high sexual standards. No wonder certain of them excuse themselves too, hence so many sex scandals among the clergy.

Liberal priests don't explain Catholic teaching to their flocks. No wonder Catholics are being won over by fundamentalists, cults, and New Agers, who *do* know what they believe and why.

Pick-and-choose Catholicism denies the binding character of Scripture, Tradition, and Magisterium: One need only “follow one's conscience,” which amounts to doing only what's convenient. Why belong to a Church which preaches *that*? People instinctively do what's convenient, without any coaxing from the clergy. Liberal Catholics are just imitators of liberal *Protestants*. By making Christianity comfortably ambiguous, have liberal Protestant Churches been flooded with converts? No. They're actually dying! Why? Be-

cause they offer *no authoritative answers* to life's big questions: Why am I here? What is true religion and virtue? How do I get to Heaven? By essentially turning themselves into debate clubs and therapy centers, they've failed to offer anything unique and unsurpassable. They elicit no commitment and little interest.

Catholicism in America could go down the tubes too if authentic Catholics don't stand up for the Faith. Our Holy Father needs all the help he can get. This is where the **NEW OXFORD REVIEW** comes in. An orthodox Catholic monthly magazine, we combat dissent and decay in the Church, and decadence in Western culture.

We have an international audience, and we're published out of infamous Berkeley, so we know a goofball liberal when we see one. But we do have one trademark of the university in Berkeley: We're intellectually aggressive. Even riotously so, for we roar with laughter at our opponents. Not afraid to “offend,” we sometimes ridicule our foes, for what's ridiculous deserves — by definition — to be ridiculed. No wonder *Newsweek* has called us “cheeky.” We're “Catholicism's intellectual prizefighter,” as Karl Keating said. We don't pull our punches, as many lukewarm “conservative” Catholic publications do; we're hotly passionate and coldly blunt.

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BOOKS

[*The West's Last Chance: Will We Win the Clash of Civilizations?*
Tony Blankley, Regnery, 256 pages]

The Struggle for Europe

By Patrick J. Buchanan

FIERCELY PROUD of his British heritage—his parents went through the Blitz—the most reliably hawkish of “The McLaughlin Group,” Tony Blankley is sometimes referred to by co-panelists as Colonel Blankley or Lord Blankley. In *The West's Last Chance*, Lord Blankley is in full-throated Churchillian roar.

“An existential threat ... hangs over our nation and civilization,” he writes, the threat of “radical Islam.” It is of the same order of magnitude as the Nazi threat and, unless we meet it with far greater awareness and resolution, our civilization and nation will be lost.

Radical Islam is already inside the gates, he writes, especially in Europe where 20 million Muslims reside, more and more alienated from the societies in which they were born. After the ritual slaughter of Theo van Gogh by a crazed Muslim on a Holland street and the London subway bombings, Blankley is likely to get a wider hearing over there—and over here. And his prognosis of Europe's condition is spot on.

As the native-born peoples of Europe age and die and their numbers shrink, Europe is being repopulated by Muslims from former colonies. As the Muslim young grow in numbers, many are not being assimilated into their national cultures. And just as in America many children of baby boomers are rejecting the secular values of their parents in search of a faith to live by and live for, many young Muslims are rejecting our values for a more demanding Islamic faith. Young Muslims are being converted to militant Islam because it gives a mean-

ing and purpose to their lives that they have not found in Western secularism and materialism.

But the message the radical imams preach to the deracinated young is a militant one. If you wish eternal life, pray five times a day to Mecca, fast during Ramadan, reject the alcohol, drugs, music, and immorality on offer from the satanic Western popular culture, and stand by the *umma*.

The political message is more toxic. Islam's eternal enemy is the Crusader West. The irreconcilable conflict has lasted for 1,400 years. While Islam was dominant in the first millennium, the West conquered in more recent times, and Islamic nations were colonized and their peoples oppressed. But today Islam is rising and the West retreating. America, Britain, and Israel still occupy Arab and Islamic lands, and they are all in transparent retreat.

To the militant young who would be soldiers of Islam, these imams preach: strike a blow at the enemy, become a hero, and attain paradise like Mohammad Atta and the “martyrs” of 9/11.

In a time when African-Americans believe Bush's torpor in rushing aid to New Orleans was because the victims of Katrina were black, and some believe Minister Farrakhan that the 17th St. levee

occupation of Iraq, overthrow of Arab despots beholden to the West, justice and a homeland for the Palestinian people.

The West's Last Chance opens with “A Nightmare Scenario.” Muslim radicals blow up malls in America, killing 1,500 and wounding 7,000. Enraged citizens demand curfews on all Muslims. The Democratic candidate, a woman, takes a hard line. Her Republican opponent, a Marine veteran of Vietnam but a social conservative disgusted with immorality in the culture and aware the Muslim vote could be decisive, blurts to a rally crowd, “It's time for sharia in America.” The GOP base bolts. The Democrat wins in a landslide.

But in Europe, following even more devastating terror attacks, the EU nations capitulate to Islamic militants and sign a concordat. America severs all security ties to Europe—and now stands alone.

Now this scenario calls for a suspension of disbelief. But the more convincing sections of *Last Chance* follow. From his reading of history and the literature of Islamism, Blankley argues that, just as Hitler indicated what he would do in *Mein Kampf*, radical Muslims are following the dictates of revered teachers and pursuing plans that culminate in the death of the West. Where the dissent will come is on the Blankley battle plan.

YOUNG MUSLIMS ARE BEING **CONVERTED TO MILITANT ISLAM** BECAUSE IT GIVES A **MEANING AND PURPOSE** TO THEIR LIVES THAT THEY HAVE NOT FOUND IN **WESTERN SECULARISM AND MATERIALISM**.

was dynamited to drown black people, we should not be surprised a minority of Muslim young accept this depiction of the world. And though only a tiny minority are willing to act on this message, a desperate and determined few, as we saw in Madrid, London, and New York, can stun and shake a free society.

As Hitler and the Nazis made Germany's agenda—return of lands and peoples lost at Versailles—their agenda, bin Laden and the radical imams conflate their war on the West with the popular causes of Arab nationalism: an end to U.S.

He believes America must go to a war footing. To protect us from another 9/11, or worse, the U.S. government must be given the powers given FDR, when 110,000 Japanese could be sent to internment camps, as there were likely to be at least some disloyalists and traitors among them.

He cites Learned Hand: “A society in which men recognize no check upon their freedom soon becomes a society where freedom is the possession of the few.” He quotes approvingly Mollie Panter-Downes's 1940 *New Yorker* piece

on the powers assumed by Churchill with the Defense of the Realm Act passed just before Dunkirk.

Nobody doubts that ... the Government will use its new powers, more complete than any government since Cromwell's time, to the utmost. The Englishman's home is no longer his castle but a place that can be commandeered at a moment's notice if the state needs it. Landowners must be prepared to give up their land; employers to close down their businesses or to carry on under government control, and perhaps at a loss; employees to change their jobs as they may be directed by the Ministry of Labour.

Among the measures Blankley believes we must take now: Formally declare war on radical Islam. Give Bush the same war powers FDR had. Should he need more, amend the Constitution. Permit wartime censorship. Give the

In which case, they are lost in any event.

Unlike the Soviet Union, no Islamic terrorists could inflict on us anything like the 50 million dead Moscow could have in 24 hours during the Cold War. They can kill some of us, and force us to take measures that disrupt our lives and reduce our freedoms, but they are not an existential threat to the United States. We must accept that the days of absolute security for anyone in this world are over.

The question to be addressed is the one in the subtitle of the Blankley book: "Will we win the clash of civilizations?"

That clash is religious, ideological, demographic. Militant Muslims hate us not just because of our perceived decadence and depraved culture but because we are seen as oppressors of Arab and Islamic peoples. What we need to do is to separate ourselves from those who hate us over here, and, consistent with our vital interests, lower our imperial profile in that part of the world.

allies economically and militarily, managed crises to avoid conflict, let the two systems compete, and, under Reagan, waged ideological war on the Soviet system. And the Communist world crashed in failure.

So will Islamism, for, like Communism, it does not work. It cannot give people what they want. Given time it will fail. These people can bomb and destroy, but we do that better than they—and, unlike us, they cannot build anything. In power, they always fail and ever will.

As we saw with Farouk in '52, Feisal in '58, Idris in '68, Haile Selassie in '74, and the Shah in '79, monarchy failed in the Islamic world. Nasser proved socialism doesn't work. Syria and Saddam proved Baathism doesn't work. Afghanistan, Sudan, and the Ayatollah's Iran prove Islamism doesn't work. Before Bush and our cakewalk crowd invaded Iraq, the Islamists in Iran had lost successive elections, 70-30, to moderates who wanted to rejoin the world.

We were winning. Then came the invasion of Iraq and the axis-of-evil bellicosity, and the mullahs got a new lease on power.

"We are going to do the worst thing we can to you Americans," Georgi Arbatov said at the end of the Cold War, "We are going to take away your enemy from you." To win the war against radical Islam we need to do the same, remove the causes that inflame and unite tens of millions of Muslims behind bin Laden and make them come face to face with their own problems, their own internal crises, with no Turks, Brits, or Americans to blame for their failures.

If they hate us, disengage, end our imperial presence in the Middle East, tell these peoples their form of government is their own business so long as they do not attack our interests. We need to tell them we will have whatever relationship they wish to have. And if none, fine. But warn them privately that if we trace an act of terror against our country to their country, then God have mercy on them because the United States will not. ■

UNLIKE NAZI GERMANY, ISLAMISTS CANNOT OVERRUN EUROPE UNLESS THE EUROPEANS BECOME **SO FEW, SO WEAK, SO COWARDLY**, THEY WILL LET A **MUSLIM MINORITY RULE THEM**. IN WHICH CASE, THEY ARE **LOST IN ANY EVENT**.

government the right to inspect mail and e-mail to protect the national security. Secure our borders. Use ethnic profiling when checking airline passengers. Create a biometric national ID card. Deport all non-citizens who agitate for violence against our society or government. Expand the U.S. armed forces by hundreds of thousands of troops to deal with new Afghanistans and Iraqs.

The West's Last Chance is the work of a serious man alarmed at what he see as a mortal threat to his family, his country, his civilization. Where Blankley and this friend disagree is on the character of the threat and strategic response it commands.

Unlike Nazi Germany, Islamists cannot overrun Europe unless the Europeans become so few, so weak, so cowardly, they will let a Muslim minority rule them.

With our invasion of Iraq, we inflamed and radicalized the entire Muslim world. The cancer of Islamic hatred metastasized. Our friends were put on the defensive, and we called into existence, as the Israelis did with the invasion of Lebanon, far more dangerous enemies than Saddam Hussein: a terrorist Sunni insurgency and Shia fundamentalism.

What is the formula for victory over Islamic jihadists? It is not the British way—to declare war on Hitler, sail for France, and fight to the death on the continent—but the way of Eisenhower and Reagan in the Cold War, the way of patience and perseverance.

Facing a Soviet Empire that controlled Central Europe, America did not send armies to roll back Communism. We drew a line across Europe, told Moscow not to cross it, built up our

[Phyllis Schlafly and *Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade*, Donald T. Critchlow, Princeton University Press, 422 pages]

Phyllis Schlafly: Conservatism's Founding Mother

By Gregory L. Schneider

IT IS AMAZING that academic historians, long interested in studying the impact of women on modern American life, have ignored arguably the most important woman in present-day American politics, Phyllis Schlafly. Then again, maybe it isn't so amazing, for Schlafly has fought valiantly over the course of a long career against feminism, and it is feminists who dominate academia and write women's history.

Donald Critchlow, a political historian at Saint Louis University, has shattered the historical barrier, providing a well written, impressively researched, and sympathetic study of the importance of grassroots activism in the formation of modern American conservatism. Critchlow shows how Schlafly, a dedicated Republican activist, used her talent to mobilize grassroots conservatives, the majority of them women, and how, in conjunction with intellectuals and politicians, she helped move the GOP to the Right. Those looking for a traditional biography of Schlafly will not find it here. Critchlow's book is mostly concerned with Schlafly's activist career. And it is a fascinating tale.

For younger readers, the name Phyllis Schlafly probably will not mean much, which is regrettable, for she is truly conservatism's founding mother. For those of us who grew up in the 1970s, she was everywhere, on talk shows, on the news, on William F. Buckley's *Firing Line*, in magazines. Most of what we saw or read about her was negative. She was standing in the way of progress, of the libera-

tion of women from patriarchal authority. She was traditional, believing that the Equal Rights Amendment portended a day when women could be drafted into the military, could serve in combat roles, and homosexuals could marry. Flash forward 30 years—was she wrong?

Her long career cannot be captured simply in a treatment of her opposition to the ERA, as famous as that made her. By the end of the ERA fight, Schlafly had been a conservative activist for close to 30 years, having run for Congress from her Alton, Illinois district, mobilized women against communism, headed up the National Federation of Republican Women (from which she was purged after 1964), served as a delegate to Republican national conventions, and written books like *A Choice, Not an Echo* and *The Gravediggers* (co-authored with Chester Ward), which combined sold three million copies in 1964. All the while, she remained a dedicated mother and spouse, bearing and rearing five children. During the ERA battle she would often anger her feminist opponents when she led off her talks saying, "I'd like to thank my husband for allowing me to speak here tonight."

SHE WAS TRADITIONAL, BELIEVING THAT THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT PORTENDED A DAY WHEN WOMEN COULD BE DRAFTED INTO THE MILITARY, COULD SERVE IN COMBAT ROLES, AND HOMOSEXUALS COULD MARRY. FLASH FORWARD 30 YEARS—WAS SHE WRONG?

Critchlow's book is as much a history of the neglected grassroots activism that helped conservatives gain power in the 1980s as it is about Schlafly. Historians have turned their attention to conservatism in the past decade, and there are many valuable studies of specific organizations and biographies of individuals. Yet scholars still point to George H. Nash's magisterial 1976 work *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945* as a model for the study of conservative history. Its portrait

of intellectuals shaping the movement has led historians to look for the rise of the Right among academics, journalists, and policy wonks.

Grassroots activism has remained an orphan in conservative history. There have been a few case studies of grassroots politics, such as Lisa McGirr's *Suburban Warriors*, about Orange County and the "little old women in tennis shoes" who made up the John Birch Society. But Critchlow's book, based on prodigious research in Schlafly's own papers, a huge collection kept in her Eagle Forum headquarters, as well as 60 additional archives, imparts a new dimension to our understanding of conservative politics—the long-term importance of grassroots organizing for the conservative revival. His book, while a study of one woman's fight for conservative causes, also offers an alternative approach to understanding the long sweep of conservative history.

Critchlow puts to rest a few myths about the development of the Right in postwar America. He challenges the arguments of liberal historians like Rick Perlstein and Dan T. Carter who view conservatism's development as a reaction to the civil-rights movement. Critchlow sets them straight. Anticom-

munist played the biggest role for the development of grassroots conservatism. "For anticommunist activists like Schlafly," Critchlow writes, "the struggle against communism dictated all aspects of political life from the local to the national level."

While there were certainly anti-Semites and racists on the Right, in the 1950s and 1960s when the civil-rights movement was at high tide, conservatives were more concerned about communism than race relations. "Southern anti-

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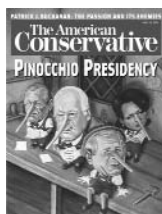
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Semitism and segregation were not integral to conservative thought in the South," Critchlow states, "nor were these prejudices closely associated with the Republican Party in the South." The GOP in the South "saw its first political inroads in the postwar era in white middle-class suburbs."

It is not surprising, therefore, that Schlafly and like-minded Christian middle-class white women were not chanting "we shall overcome" in Mississippi peace marches—nor should anything nefarious be inferred about them not doing so. Communism was their vital concern, and Schlafly dedicated her time and resources to exposing its threats. Not only did she write very readable books about Soviet defense policies and the USSR's growing missile strength—and concomitant American weakness—but she dedicated a syndicated radio program, "America, Wake Up" to the issue of communism.

What made Schlafly so appealing as a leader? Much of it was owed to a value system she learned early in life. She was imbued with a strong work ethic, a sense of serious purpose, and commitment to her Catholic faith. An intelligent and self-confident young woman, Schlafly attended Washington University in St. Louis during World War II, working at a nearby ordinance factory testing ammunition. She received a fellowship to attend Radcliffe for graduate school and took a job at the American Enterprise Association as a researcher. She returned to St. Louis and married Fred Schlafly, an attorney for manufacturer John Olin.

She became active in Republican politics, starting off as a party committee-woman and volunteering on behalf of the local GOP. Her first foray as a candidate, running for Congress from Illinois's 21st district against an entrenched Democratic political machine, allowed her to reach wider audiences where she honed her speaking style and skills as a debater. She lost the race but dedicated herself afterwards to conservative causes.

The publication of *A Choice, Not an Echo* in 1964 contributed greatly to the nomination of Barry Goldwater for president that year. It also made Schlafly a national celebrity. Critchlow conveys a humorous story that occurred on a plane trip to Vancouver. At a refueling stop in Seattle, the pilot announced that a crowd had gathered to greet one of the celebrities on board the plane. Comedian Bob Hope, who was traveling with the Schlaflys, got up to exit the plane, but the pilot told Hope to sit down. The crowd wanted Phyllis Schlafly. After the Goldwater debacle, she immersed herself into a study of defense issues and published several books with Admiral Chester Ward. She supported Richard Nixon for president in 1968, but like many conservatives she felt betrayed by Nixon's détente policies and his opening to communist China.

She became the feminist's *bête noire* as a result of her other political activities. Schlafly had always stressed the need for religion and politics to mix. This "moral populism," as Critchlow calls it, allowed her and like-minded women to do the work necessary both to preserve the moral order of Christianity and defend the nation from its enemies. During the 1960s, it appeared that liberalism was the enemy. Liberals were fighting wars in Southeast Asia—unlike many conservatives, Schlafly was not an enthusiastic supporter of the wars in Korea and Vietnam—expanding social spending, falling behind the Soviets in strategic weapons and, via the Supreme Court, threatening the basis of constitutional government.

A growing number of court decisions, especially *Roe v. Wade*, challenged traditional Christian values, and conservatives mobilized to fight the trend. Schlafly took the lead, publishing an attack on feminism in the February 1972 edition of *The Phyllis Schlafly Report* that began her crusade to stop the Equal Rights Amendment.

Almost single-handedly, with few politicians from the Republican Party supporting her—Critchlow documents how Gerald Ford's administration tried

to stop Schlafly, with Betty Ford playing the crucial role—Schlafly formed a new organization, STOP-ERA, to block passage of the amendment. The better-funded and better-organized feminists possessed almost every advantage from the start, but they lacked unity. Schlafly dominated STOP-ERA. She was the organization's national public face and vehicle for conveying the anti-feminist message. Supporting her were thousands of churchgoing women, united in their belief that ERA, *Roe*, and other feminist policies threatened the traditional values in which they believed. They had confidence that Schlafly could convey these ideas, and their faith in her proved well founded.

Both STOP-ERA and the National Organization for Women (NOW) had similar memberships. The majority of both organizations consisted of college graduates, and both groups had women of similar income levels. Feminists tended to be younger, and there was a prevalence of single and divorced women in NOW. But the fundamental distinction between the two organizations was religious. "A remarkable 98 percent of anti-ERA supporters," Critchlow writes, "claimed church membership, while only 31 to 48 percent of pro-ERA supporters did." It is not wrong to claim that STOP-ERA was the backbone of today's social conservative politics.

The pro-ERA forces had the media on their side, including women's magazines, celebrities such as Alan Alda, *Playboy* magazine—which the feminists played down—and the major television networks and newspapers. They were not unified politically, however. Some wanted to push for lesbian rights, others for gender equity, and still others for full equality with men on every level. Their divisions worked in favor of the determined Schlafly. In 1982, ERA's deadline for ratification expired before it could be approved by the needed 38 states.

For her role in stopping ERA, Schlafly drew the venom of feminists and the Left. To say she was hated is to put it mildly. She received reams of hate mail,

pornographic pictures, used sanitary napkins from screeching feminists incensed at her "treason." Critchlow recounts this and more. Feminists developed a Schlafly voodoo doll, complete with pins. Betty Friedan famously said in a debate with Schlafly, "I'd like to burn you at the stake."

One episode recounted by Critchlow involved the popular CBS show "Cagney and Lacey." In a story that was to air a few days before the final expiration of ERA, the title characters guard an anti-feminist leader—whose mannerisms mimicked Schlafly's—against a threat on her life. Coming as it did only a few months after John Lennon's assassination, Schlafly supporters were exasperated and petitioned for the episode not to air. (It was aired a few months later.)

Since the ERA's defeat, Schlafly has lost a lot of public attention and exposure. But she continues to fight for her causes, believing that judges threaten democracy and constitutional government. (She wrote about this in *The Supremacists*, published in 2004.) She also has taken up the fight against trade agreements and against illegal immigration. She remains active, a vigorous octogenarian maintaining a crowded schedule that includes lecturing, hosting a weekly radio show, writing a column, and running her activist organization, Eagle Forum.

Critchlow captures Schlafly's importance for the conservative movement. Without activists like her, without their dedication and talent in mobilizing like-minded people, conservatism may not have made the inroads it has in American politics. In Critchlow's capable hands the story of grassroots organizing comes alive. The book is a splendid example of political history, telling the story of an important woman and the legacy she has left conservatism. ■

Gregory L. Schneider is associate professor of history at Emporia State University in Kansas. He has written and edited three books, most recently Equality, Decadence and Modernity: The Collected Essays of Stephen J. Tonsor.

MUSIC

Jazz Was Bechet's Crown

By Ralph de Toledano

THEY CAN DEFINE JAZZ. They can analyze it. But for those who made it—and for those who were so close that they thought they were making it—jazz was more than music. It was an expression and an explanation of life. Sidney Bechet, the titan among New Orleans reed men, called it "a kind of memory that wants to sing itself." He never lost that memory, never in the six decades of his life. In *Treat It Gentle*, his dictated autobiography, he said:

All God's children got a crown. My race, their music—it's their way of showing you something. It's what they've got to make *them* happy. Somewhere, all God's children wear a crown. ... Oh, I can be mean. But not to the music. That's a thing you got to trust, you got to treat it gentle. The music, it's the road. You stop by the way, and you can't never be sure what you're going to find waiting. But the music itself, the road—it's the thing that brings you to everything else.

From almost the beginning, New Orleans recognized his genius, as did others not of that germinal period when jazz scattered its seed. Go back to 1919, when Bechet was touring Europe with Will Marion Cook's band. Ernst Ansermet, the young Swiss conductor already famous for introducing Stravinsky's *L'Histoire du soldat*, heard him play. In the *Revue Romande*, he celebrated an "extraordinary clarinet virtuoso" whose improvisations were "admirable for their inventive richness, rhythmic strength, and daring innovation. Their form was as compelling, direct, forceful and relentless

as Bach's Second Brandenburg Concerto. The name of this artist of genius: Sidney Bechet."

At a time when Louis Armstrong was serving his apprenticeship, Bechet was already known as one of the leading New Orleans jazz musicians. Many years later he would recall his introduction to Armstrong. A fellow musician told him, "You think you can play. But there's a little boy, he can play 'High Society' better than you." "It was Louis," Bechet said, "And I'll be doggone if he didn't play 'High Society' on the cornet. It was very hard for clarinet to do, and really unthinkable for a cornet." Bechet had begun playing the clarinet at age six, though he later gave it up for the more robust soprano sax. When he picked up his instrument, it was all there in the cascade of notes, the rich and pure and lambent tone, the melodic and harmonic surge his fingers transmitted.

He could be arrested for gun fighting on a Paris street. His temper could explode a thousand times—and it was

a very large temper. But where music was concerned, he treated it gentle, and it responded by giving him all the genius he could ask for as he pushed jazz ahead.

It is the conventional wisdom that Louis Armstrong lifted jazz from its ragtime tinkle and gave it its tighter, more driving 4/4 beat and intonation. And certainly he influenced every jazz musician from the time he made his Hot Five and

Tommy Ladnier, in which Bechet cut a very great "High Society" and a moving "Really the Blues." Issued variously on 78 rpms and LPs, they have been reissued in a compact 3-disc set by BMG as *Sidney Bechet: The Victor Sessions*—a gamut of jazz standards and New Orleans classics. (The discography of all Sidney Bechet's recordings runs to more than 20 pages, single-spaced.) Included in this BMG set are two cuts

SIDNEY BECHET NEVER BECAME A STAR IN AMERICA, NOR DID HE HAVE A BIG SWING BAND TO FILL THE PARAMOUNT THEATER WITH JITTERBUGS. BUT HE WAS "THE GREATEST" TO OTHER MUSICIANS AND TO THE JAZZ COGNOSCENTI.

Hot Seven records in Chicago and revolutionized instrumental techniques and harmonics. But listen to the records he made with Bechet in the early 1920s, reissued by the Smithsonian Institution as *Louis Armstrong & Sidney Bechet in New York, 1923-1925*. You will discover how far ahead of his time Bechet was, even ahead of Louis. The full tone, the strong but controlled *vibrato*, the powerful and beautifully conceived improvisations, the beat enhancing the *rubato* are all there—and as always the hot intonation.

Sidney Bechet never became a star in America, never made movies with Bing Crosby, nor did he have a big swing band to fill the Paramount Theater with jitterbugs. But he was "the greatest" to other musicians and to the jazz *cognoscenti*. He played the smaller jazz clubs, with six- and seven-piece hands, recording with a who's who of jazz greats: Louis, Rex Stewart, Jelly Roll Morton, Tommy Ladnier, Baby Dodds, Earl Hines, Sidney DeParis. To lead a 1930s swing band, he would have had to be a manager, a taskmaster, and playing killer-dillers—and that was not his bag. Not once in his life did he play a commercial note.

But his legacy is there in the records he made between 1932 and 1943 for RCA as the New Orleans Feetwarmers, with one superlative session led by Jelly Roll Morton and another by

in which one-man-band Bechet, through the magic of recording, plays piano, soprano sax, clarinet, tenor sax, cornet, and drums.

Idolized throughout Europe, Bechet spent most of his life in jazz in London, in Paris, where he was loved, and points south and east, on great tours that took him to the Royal Albert Hall in England, the Vieux-Colombier in France, where he became a regular feature, and even through North Africa. Stricken by lung cancer, he made his last recordings in Paris in 1958 with a doctor at his side.

"I can't keep hanging on," he mused in his last years. "And all I've been waiting for is the music. All the beauty that's ever been, it's moving inside the music. I'd like to hear it all once more. What I'd be feeling, the music has the home."

Sidney Bechet went to his music on May 14, 1959, his 62nd birthday. At his funeral, 3,000 people gathered outside the Eglise de St. Louis in pouring rain to say their goodbyes to the man who had made jazz his crown and gave its rich and beautiful legacy of the blues and the Creole spirit to all God's children. ■

Ralph de Toledano is a former editor of Newsweek and the author or editor of over 20 books, including Notes From the Underground: the Whittaker Chambers-Ralph de Toledano Letters, 1949-1960 and Frontiers of Jazz.

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Degrees of Victimhood



In a Hollywood script, the New Orleans Saints would have stayed undefeated for the season, playing away from home every game and winning

each one in overtime. As their coach, Jim Haslett, recently said, almost wiping away a tear, "In the situation we're in right now, we're living day to day."

The Saints are victims, no doubt, but as far as living day to day is concerned, things could be worse. The Banda Aceh Scorpions are no longer living at all. For any of you unfamiliar with the Scorpions, or Banda Aceh for that matter, the former was a soccer team, the latter is a province in the Indonesian Archipelago. The Scorpions' schedule has been cancelled as both their stadium and most of their players disappeared in the tsunami of last Christmas.

Banda Aceh is still there, but no thanks to the UN or other do-gooders. Almost 100,000 victims of the tsunami are still living in tents, while 300,000 live with host families. 170,000 people are dead or missing and presumed dead nine months after the disaster, but from the \$7 billion in aid promised and the \$4.4 billion received, only 1,500 flimsy houses have been constructed by the Indonesian government. Projects needing central government (read "bureaucratic") approval have been put off indefinitely.

So before Bill and Hillary Clinton shoot off their big mouths about how they would have saved New Orleans had they been in power—they were warned for eight years and did nothing about the weakened levees—there are tragedies and then there are tragedies. America is not Indonesia, but reading the European press the former is worse off. (I wonder what the poor Scorpions' coach would say if someone bothered to ask him.) Mind you, tragedy breeds political opportunity, and victimhood provides

the surest meal ticket of all. Just think what Jesse Jackson could do with the Scorpions, let alone Indonesia and the tsunami.

However sad, the cult of suffering is here to stay. My Holocaust is bigger than your Holocaust. Or my genocide is larger than your genocide. Taken alphabetically, here are groups who rightly claim genocide has been committed against them: Armenians, Bosnian Muslims, Chechens, Cambodians, Darfur Christians, East Timorese, Falun Gong followers, Iraqis, Irish, Jews, Kosovars, Laotians, Maoris, Native Americans, Palestinians, Roma, Tutsis, Tibetans, Yugoslavs, and Zulus.

WE NOW SEE TELEVISION NETWORKS REPEATING THE WORDS OF A NEW ORLEANS EVACUEE BRANDING HIS PLIGHT "GENOCIDE."

Alas, all these have experienced genocide, but in the haste for a catchy headline, we now see television networks repeating the words of a New Orleans evacuee branding his plight "genocide."

My friend and *American Conservative* cover boy Norman Mailer thinks that there is a kind of moral superiority in killing what you can see. I agree. Bombing a bunch of Serbians and inadvertently killing women and children from 15,000 feet was not our finest hour but par for the course for cowards like Clinton and Albright. On the other hand, however, a machine-gun squad of Einsatzgruppen executing Poles and Jews are not exactly superior to pilots dropping bombs on civilians.

What the do-gooders in the West do is confuse the issues with false equiva-

lence. The Marine who shoots a car full of innocent Iraqi civilians who fail to stop is not a criminal, just a soldier sent to do the wrong job by some jerk back in Washington. No matter what the antiwar side says—and I take a backseat to no one as far as opposition to this war is concerned—there has been no instance of a town or hamlet or even a crowd where American soldiers have herded people together and shot them dead. It could happen, of course, such being the joys of trying to put down an insurgency without enough troops and without soldiers trained to put down insurgencies.

I read a very good column by Charley Reese recently in which he writes of how we had said that Hiroshima and Nagasaki were military targets, but in fact there were only 43,000 soldiers in those cities and more than 500,000 civilians. The civilians were nearly all women,

children, and old men. He finished by saying that all men who start wars should be put in the dock. And it gets worse, where Japan is concerned. In July 1945, leading military figures in the U.S. had concluded that Japan was beaten anyway and would soon sue for peace. Emperor Hirohito had sent out feelers to those nice guys, the Soviet leaders, that he was ready to talk. Stalin, being Stalin, ignored them. He wanted to grab some Japanese real estate, so off went the two A-bombs. Eisenhower, MacArthur, and Admiral Leahy were against it. But Truman and Burns had their way. Winners do not have to sit in the dock.

Victimhood is relative. Keep that in mind the next time a hurricane hits the good old U.S. of A. ■

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